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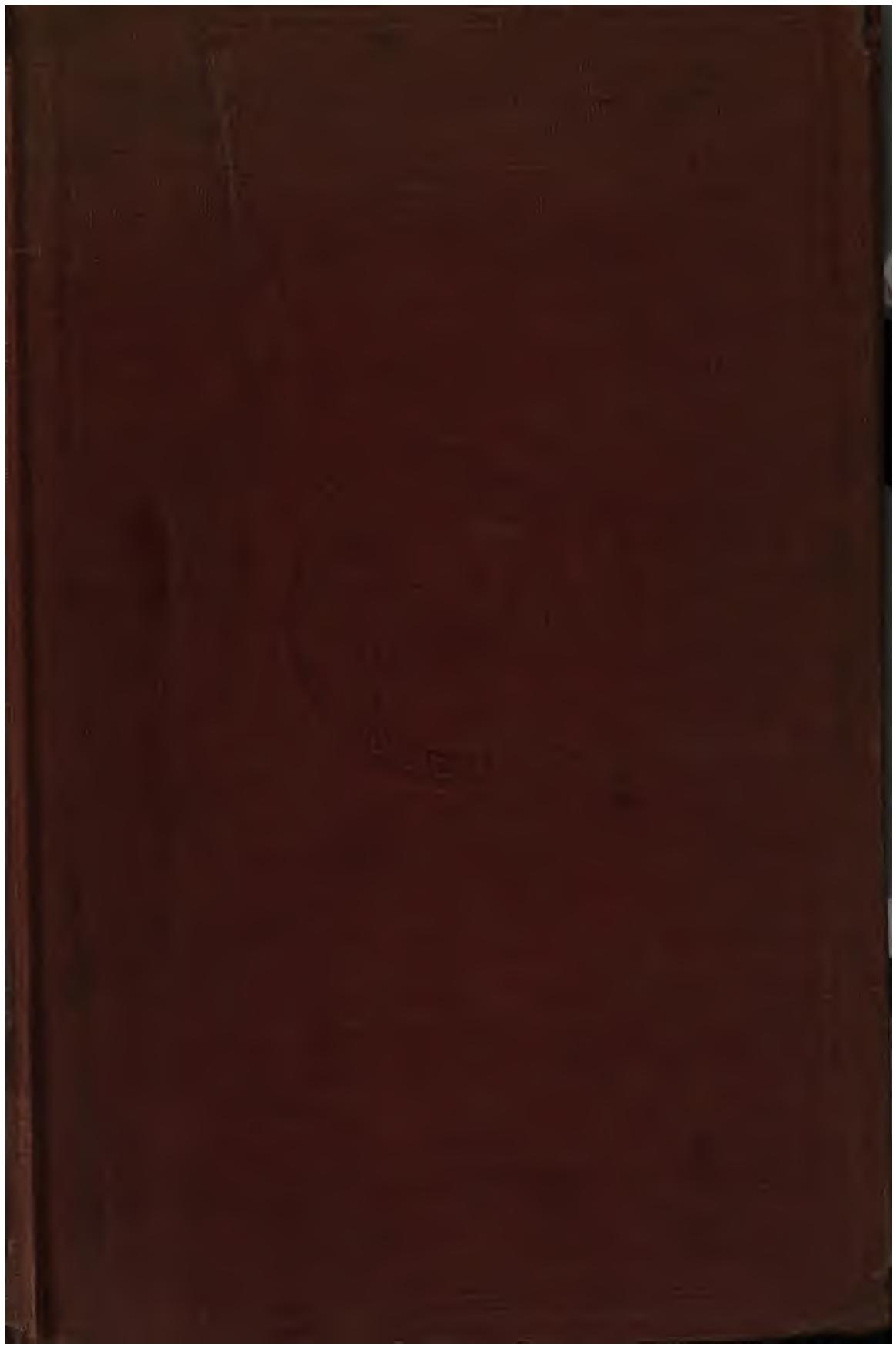
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© FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

AND

INSURRECTION OF THE COMMUNE.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

Editor

E. B. WASHBURN,

ENVY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
UNITED STATES TO FRANCE.



WASHINGTON:
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1878.

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For 23 Oct. 15, 10.

1878. April 8,
U.S.A.
Theodore F. Dwight,
of Washington.

M E S S A G E
FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a Senate resolution of December 6, 1877, information in relation to the Franco-German war.

FEBRUARY 11, 1878.—Ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

To the Senate:

I transmit herewith, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 6th of December last, a report from the Secretary of State and its accompanying papers.

R. B. HAYES.

WASHINGTON, February 6, 1878.

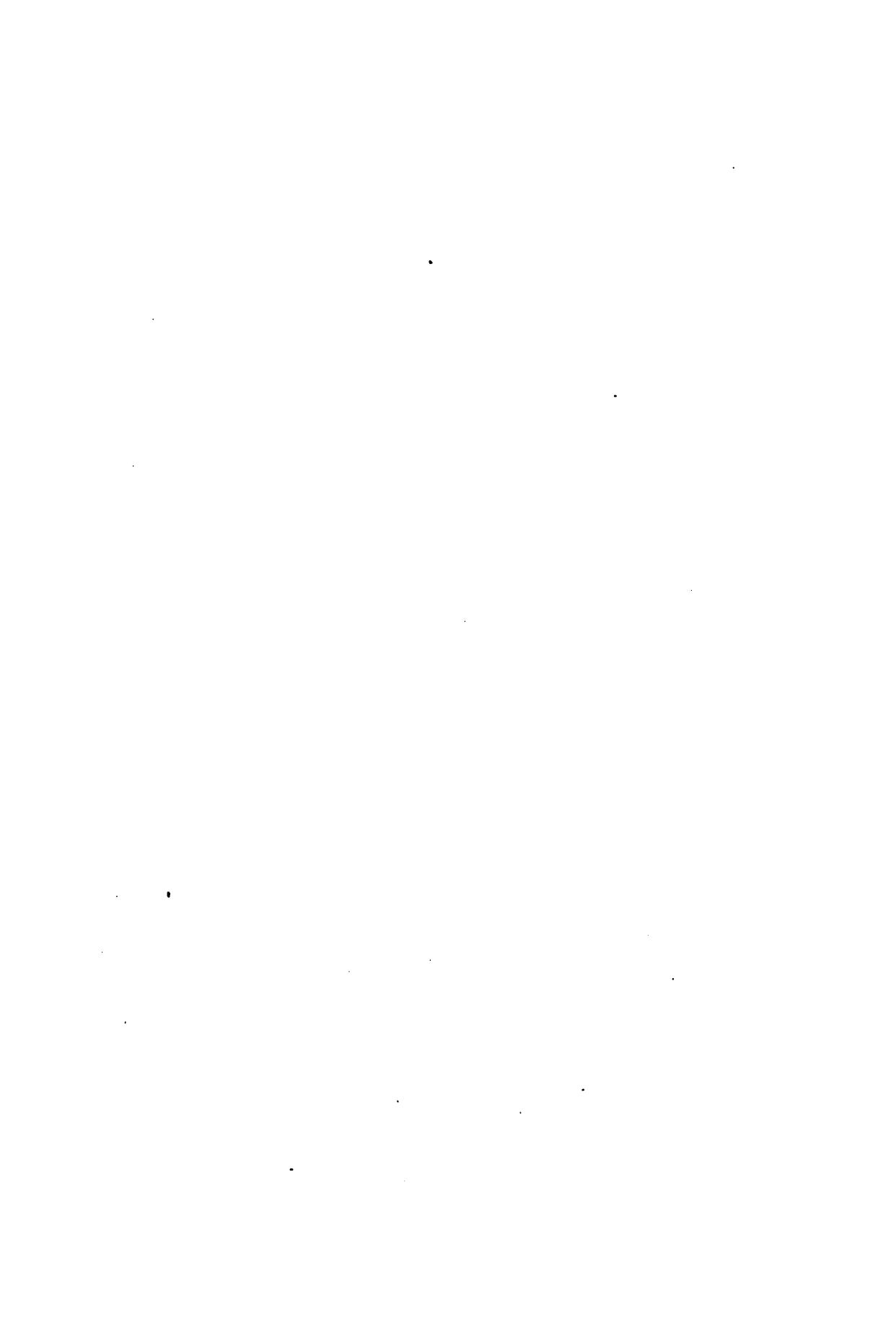
To the President:

The Secretary of State, to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate of December 6, 1877, requesting the President, "if not incompatible with the public interests, to transmit to the Senate the correspondence of the minister of the United States at Paris with the State Department in relation to the Franco-German war, together with the correspondence of the said minister with the Count de Bismarck, Mr. von Thile, the Prussian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Bancroft, the United States minister at Berlin, and Mr. Motley, the United States minister at London," has the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence requested by the resolution of the Senate.

Respectfully submitted.

WM. M. EVARTS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 6, 1878.



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CORRESPONDENCE.

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

No. 1.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 225.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, July 19, 1870. (Received August 3.)

SIR: Never did the peace of Europe seem better assured than when I left Paris, two weeks ago last Saturday, in virtue of your leave of absence, to seek health and repose at Carlsbad, in Bohemia. It was not till after my arrival at that remote and somewhat inaccessible point that matters appeared to be serious. I kept myself informed as to the progress of events as well as I could up to the time of the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature. That, I supposed, would end the matter, but, instead, threatening rumors followed, and on Saturday last, the 16th instant, it was apparent even from the meager intelligence we received that a great crisis had been reached. It seemed to be quite certain war between France and the North German Confederation was inevitable. Under such circumstances I deemed it imperative upon me to return at once to my post of duty. On Saturday evening I left Carlsbad, and after a most tiresome journey of fifty-two continuous hours by diligence and rail, I reached Paris last night at ten o'clock. Colonel Hoffman has kept you fully posted in regard to the progress of events since I left. The sudden and unlooked-for breaking out of hostilities between two such powerful nations as France and the North German Confederation is a startling event. * * * No human ken can measure the consequences or the results. Great interests will be affected everywhere. The interests of our own country are now so interwoven with those of Europe that we must feel the shock. That shock has already been felt, and our people must be very greatly excited. I shall deem it my duty, therefore, to remain at my post and to gather all possible information to be transmitted promptly to you for the guidance of our government in the face of existing events. I shall not assume the rôle of a partisan, but shall endeavor to give you facts, and I shall comment thereon without bias or prejudice. From the experience we had in our country during the war for the suppression of the rebellion, we were made familiar with the rumors, exaggerations, and the false reports which spread in times of such great excitement. I presume that up to this time you have had the wildest statements circulated for stock-jobbing and for other purposes, and that you have had many accounts as to the causes of the war. I have spent much time to-day with official persons in a situation to know the facts, in order to be correctly advised in relation thereto. Upon the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidature everything was in a fair way of being accommodated. There is no truth in the reports concerning the indignity which the King of the North German Confederation offered to Benedetti, the envoy of France. The King of the North German Confederation himself has

given an emphatic denial to such reports, as I myself saw yesterday at Cologne, in a telegraphic dispatch from Berlin, which was posted up in a handbill. On the night of Wednesday, the 13th, everything promised a peaceable solution, but on Thursday morning at about two o'clock a dispatch was received at the foreign office in Paris, from the French chargé d'affaires at Berlin, transmitting the semi-official article in Bismarck's newspaper-organ, giving the North German Confederation side of the action of that government in the Hohenzollern affair. * * *

On Saturday, the 16th, a special messenger was dispatched by the French Government to Berlin with this declaration; and, while I am writing this dispatch, Count Solms, the chargé d'affaires of the North German Confederation, has been in to say that Count Bismarck had telegraphed him that the notice of the declaration of war had been received at Berlin, and directing him to turn over the archives of the embassy of the North German Confederation to our legation, and to leave Paris immediately with the entire *personnel* of the embassy. They all leave to-morrow, and they will send here the most valuable of their archives, upon which I shall place the seal of this legation. A great many things will be left in the embassy, upon some of which the count desires that our seal may be placed, and that we shall have an oversight of the embassy and the property left there. He requests that, in case there should be danger of an attack upon the Prussian embassy, I should put up the American flag there for its protection. I told him I should consult with the Duke de Gramont on Thursday next, touching the extent of the protection that France expected we should give to that embassy. Whether or not, under the assent of France, our government having given protection to the subjects of the North German Confederation in France and the archives of its embassy, would authorize me to place the American flag over the embassy simply for its protection, is a question upon which I desire to be instructed by you.

It is not yet fully known what is to be the exact status of the South German States. Saxony has taken its position, and the Count de Subach, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of that country near the French court, has already left Paris. The chargé d'affaires has been to me this afternoon to say that he is requested by his sovereign to ask the same protection of the United States for the citizens of Saxony and for the archives of that legation as has been accorded to the North German Confederation. I told him to make his request in writing and I would apply for the assent of the French Government, and, if accorded, I felt certain that I should be carrying out the wishes of my government to give the protection; and I trust this will merit your approval.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 2.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

PARIS, July 22, 1870—10.50 a. m.

FISH, Washington :

Government refuses to exempt North German steamers from capture, except those now at sea, ignorant of war, which may enter French port.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 3.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 228.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 2., 1870. (Received August 3.)

Referring to the subject of the request made by you on the 17th instant, that I should inquire whether, in the event of war between France and the North German Confederation, the North German steamers would be exempt from capture, I have the honor to transmit you here-with—

First. A letter of Colonel Hoffman to the Duke de Gramont on this subject.

Second. A translation of a reply of the Duke de Gramont to the letter of Colonel Hoffman, received the 21st instant.

Third. A copy of the telegraphic dispatch which I yesterday transmitted to you on the receipt of the Duke de Gramont's communication.

I do not see that I can do anything further in this matter until advised by you. It seems to me that the difficulty would have been in a great measure solved if the recommendation of the President's message of the 15th instant, a synopsis of which we received by the telegraph, had been adopted by Congress.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

*Mr. Hoffman to the Duke de Gramont.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 17, 1870.

SIR : I have the honor to transmit to your excellency a copy of a telegram I have just received from Mr. Fish, with the request that your excellency will favor me with a reply as soon as possible.

It is probably known to your excellency that the steamers referred to do an immense carrying business between the United States and France. They also carry our mails to England and to France, to a greater extent than any other line. If they were to cease to run it would be a serious inconvenience to our Post-Office Department.

I take this opportunity to renew, &c., &c.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT, &c., &c.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

[By cable.]

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1870.

WASHBURN, Paris :

Government and people of the United States depend upon German steamers between Bremen, Hamburg, and New York for postal communication with Europe, under arrangements with the United States Post Office. Inquire whether, in the event of war with North Germany, these steamers will be exempt from capture. Report by cable.

FISH.

[Inclosure 2.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Hoffman.

[Translation.]

PARIS, July —, 1870. (Received July 21, 1870.)

SIR : The consignees of the German steamers established between Hamburg, Bremen, and New York, stopping at Havre, have applied to the cabinet of Washington to know if they could, notwithstanding the war, continue their traffic without being ex-

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

posed to capture, and Mr. Hoffman was in consequence charged to ask of me what are, in this respect, the intentions of the government of the Emperor.

My colleague, the minister of the marine, whom I have just consulted upon this subject, desires me, with reason, to observe that the steamers in question are enemies' ships, and do not find themselves in any of the conditions required in order that, after the opening of hostilities, they may permanently be exceptionally authorized to continue the mercantile operations to which they are devoted. It is true that, like all merchant ships, they take charge of letters or of mails, the carriage of which, according to the federal laws, gives a right to compensation from the American treasury. But this compensation, whatever may be its form, cannot in any way influence the hostile and private character of the ship which receives it, nor consequently justify any exception to the general principle of the law of nations, of the character of that to which the telegraphic dispatch, which Mr. Hoffman did me the honor to communicate to me on the 18th of this month, refers.

The government of the Emperor feels, therefore, regret that it cannot resolve favorably the question put by the consignees of the Bremen and Hamburg steamers. However, and in order to save in a certain measure the complex interests engaged in these ships, we are disposed to exempt from capture those among them which are actually at sea, and which, in ignorance of the state of war, may enter one of the ports of the empire. I hope that the suspension of service performed by the company of Lloyd and of North Germany will not have for the federal Post Office the disagreeable consequences which it appears to apprehend, as the English and French packet-boats from Liverpool and from Havre will not cease to keep up regular communication between the United States and Europe.

Receive, &c.

GRAMONT.

[For inclosure 3, see preceding number.]

No. 4.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 231.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, July 22, 1870. (Received August 3.)

Count Solms, chargé d'affaires of the North German Confederation, left here for Berlin on Wednesday night, after turning over to this legation the archives of the embassy to which he belonged. He expressed himself as much gratified with the courtesy which we have extended to him in receiving the archives of his embassy, and in assuming the protection of the subjects of the sovereign whom he represented.

Many subjects of the North German Confederacy found themselves here upon the formal declaration of war, and the Count left with me sufficient funds to pay the expenses of a certain number of them, who would be directed to call at this legation to obtain the proper authorization to leave the French territory. Accordingly many have presented themselves during the past three days to receive some proper instrument that will enable them to go out of France. I was unwilling to give any paper or certificate, in the nature of a visa, unless I was satisfied it would be respected by the French military and civil authorities. I therefore went to the foreign office yesterday to state the case and to ascertain whether these North German subjects would be permitted to leave, and, if so, upon what kind of a protection, to be issued by me. I was there advised that it was a somewhat serious question, and that it would be best for me to state my object in writing. I then addressed a letter to the Duke de Gramont, a copy of which is herewith inclosed, marked A. I was promised an answer to this letter before this time; but now, at five o'clock p. m., it has not come, and will not in season to send you a translation of it by the dispatch-bag which leaves to-night and goes by the way of England.

I send you also a copy of Colonel Hoffman's letter, marked B, to the Duke de Gramont, in relation to the authorization of our government to extend protection to North German subjects, with the assent of the government of His Majesty the Emperor; also the reply of the Duke de Gramont thereto.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosures.]

A.

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 21, 1870.

Referring to the letter of Colonel Hoffman, of the 17th instant, to your excellency in relation to putting the subjects of the North German Confederation residing in French territory under the protection of this legation, and the response of your excellency of the following day, giving the entire consent of the French Government thereto, I have the honor to state that quite a number of the citizens of the North German Confederation, finding themselves in Paris at the time of the declaration of war, have applied to me for such protection as will enable them to leave the French territory. I have, therefore, now to apply to your excellency to know whether any certificate in the nature of a visa, given by me to these subjects of the North German Confederation, will be so far respected as to enable them to pass into the neutral territory of Belgium. I have to state that there will be no more than one hundred of these persons, and they are mostly poor men who have been necessarily detained here by reasons over which they had no control, and who are extremely desirous of leaving France.

In this connection I beg leave to observe that I only desire to conform to what is due to the function which I have undertaken in this respect, with the assent of the government of His Majesty the Emperor. While, perhaps, under a strict construction of public law, the government of His Majesty would have the absolute right to treat as enemies of war all of the subjects of the North German Confederation finding themselves in France after the 19th instant, yet under the modern and more humane interpretation given to that right, the government of His Majesty might deem it consistent with its views to permit these men to leave the territory of France within the reasonable time which the text-writers observe has become the usual concession of nations engaged in war.

I will thank you to advise me upon this subject at the earliest convenient moment, so that I can inform these men in regard to their application. If permission be granted, I beg to request that I may be informed of the nature of the certificate to be given by me, which will be respected by the military and civil authorities of His Majesty's government.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT, &c., &c.

B.

Mr. Hoffman to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 17, 1870.

I was requested by the ambassador of the North German Confederation, before his departure from Paris, to take the North German subjects residing in French territory under the protection of this legation. To-day I am in receipt of a telegram from my government authorizing me to do so, provided that it be done with the assent of His Majesty's government. I have the honor to apply for this assent.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Hoffman.

[Translation.]

PARIS, July 18, 1870.

I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me, of yesterday's date, in which you say you have been instructed by the cabinet at Washington to take under your protection the subjects of the North German Confederation residing in France. The government of His Majesty has no objection to your charging yourself with this mission, and I hasten to respond to your desire that we give to you our entire assent.

GRAMONT.

Mr. WICKHAM HOFFMAN,
Charge d'Affaires, &c., &c.

No. 5.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Telegram.—Received July 25, 1870, at 9.30 a. m.]

PARIS, July 24, 1870.

FISH, Washington:

French Government assents to our protecting North Germans and Saxons. Hesse Grand-Ducal and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha also ask protection.

WASHBURN.

No. 6.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 234.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 26, 1870. (Received August 11.)

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the correspondence relating to the protection of subjects of the King of Saxony residing in France by the Government of the United States, as follows:

First. A translation of a communication from Baron Lüttichau, chargé d'affaires of Saxony, asking that protection may be given;

Second. A copy of my letter to the Duke de Gramont upon the subject; and

Third. A translation of a note from the foreign office, signed H. Desprez, giving the entire assent of the government of the Emperor to the protection assumed by this legation.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

*Baron de Lüttichau to Mr. Washburne.*ROYAL LEGATION OF SAXONY,
Paris, July 20, 1870.

MR. MINISTER: The government of the King, compelled by events to recall his legation from Paris, earnestly desires permission to place under the protection of the legation of the United States, pending the existence of the war that has been declared, the interests of Saxon subjects in France.

In conformity with the orders which I have just received, I have recourse to the great kindness of your excellency, and beg you to inform me if you consent to this request of my government.

I profit by the present occasion to offer to your excellency the assurance, &c., &c., &c.

DE LÜTTICHAU,
Charge d'Affaires.

His Excellency Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States, Paris.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 20, 1870.

SIR: I am requested by the chargé d'affaires of Saxony near the court of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to take the subjects of Saxony in France under the protection of this legation. Having received the assent of my government to take the subjects of North Germany under the protection of this legation, I have assumed that it would give the same protection to the subjects of Saxony, provided it should meet with the approval of the government of His Majesty the Emperor.

I will thank you to communicate to me at an early moment the action of His Majesty's government in this regard.

I take the present opportunity to renew, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 3.—Translation.]

Mr. Desprez to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, July 21, 1870.

SIR: To respond to your letter which you have done me the honor to write to me under date of yesterday, I hasten to inform you that the government of the Emperor gives its entire assent to your assuming, during the war, the protection of Saxon citizens in France.

Receive the assurance of the high consideration, &c., &c., &c.

For the minister and by his authorization, &c., &c., &c.,

H. DESPREZ.

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States, Paris.

No. 7.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 235.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 26, 1870. (Received August 11.)

I have the honor to inclose a copy of the correspondence bearing upon the protection afforded by the Government of the United States to the subjects of Hesse Grand-Ducal, resident in France, who, owing to the alliance formed between the Government of the North German Confederation and that of Hesse, have become the enemies of France in the war declared on the 19th of the present month.

The correspondence embraces—

First. A translation of a letter from Count d'Enzenberg, minister resident of Hesse Grand-Ducal at Paris;

Second. A copy of a letter addressed by myself to the Duke de Gramont asking the assent of the government of the Emperor for such protection; and,

Third. The translation of a letter from the Duke de Gramont giving the assent desired.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

Count d'Enzenberg to Mr. Washburne.

LEGATION OF HESSE GRAND-DUCAL,
Paris, July 23, 1870.

MR. MINISTER: My government having informed me of the fact of the declaration of war by France against the North German Confederation, of the date of July 19, current, the alliance under the military convention concluded between the two governments of Hesse and the North German Confederation still exists.

In consequence I am instructed to address your excellency without delay, in order to inform you of the desire of my government that you will take all the subjects of Hesse residing in Paris and in France, as well as the archives of the legation, under the protection of the United States.

I hasten to obey this order, and I beg your excellency to be assured of the high estimate which my government attaches to this protection; and already in advance, and in my own name, I pray your excellency to be pleased to accept my heartfelt thanks as a testimony of courtesy and international good will, and I take this occasion to renew the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, Mr. Minister, your excellency's humble and devoted servant,

ENZENBERG, Minister Resident.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 23, 1870.

SIR: The Grand Duke of Hesse Grand-Ducal has directed Count d'Enzenberg, his minister resident near the court of His Majesty, the Emperor of the French, to address himself to me, with the request that the Government of the United States should permit all subjects of Hesse finding themselves in Paris or in France, together with the archives of Hesse Grand-Ducal, to be placed under the protection of the United States. I have to state to your excellency that I shall feel authorized to assume such protection with the assent of the government of His Majesty the Emperor. I would be pleased, therefore, if you would advise me, at your earliest convenience, if such assent will be given.

I take the present opportunity, &c., &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 3.—Translation.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, July 25, 1870.

I hasten to inform you, in answer to the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the 22d of this month, that the government of the Emperor gives its entire assent in order that you may assume, during the war, the protection of the subjects of Hesse Grand-Ducal, residing in France.

Receive the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble servant,

GRAMONT,

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States, Paris.

No. 8.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 236.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 28, 1870. (Received August 11.)

SIR: I duly received the telegraphic dispatch of Mr. Davis, of the 25th instant, stating that General Sheridan and two staff officers were about leaving the United States on a tour of military observation, and wished to join the French army. I immediately addressed a note to the Duke de Gramont on the subject, a copy of which I send herewith, marked No. 1.

I have this day received the reply of the Duke de Gramont declining to grant the permission asked for in behalf of General Sheridan. I inclose a copy of that reply, marked No. 2.

I have also sent you a telegraphic dispatch, to-day, stating that the French Government declines granting the General the permission asked for.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

*Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 26, 1870.

SIR: I am to-day in receipt of a telegraphic dispatch from my government, informing me that the President has authorized General Sheridan, Lieutenant-General of the Army of the United States, to proceed immediately to Europe on a tour of military observation, and with a view to visit, if permitted, the French army, accompanied by two officers of his staff.

I need scarcely inform your excellency that General Sheridan is one of the most distinguished officers of our late war, and contributed very largely to the suppression of the rebellion.

I should be gratified if His Majesty the Emperor should accord the permission requested by my government in behalf of Lieutenant-General Sheridan and staff.

I take this opportunity, &c., &c., &c.

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT, &c., &c., &c.

[Inclosure 2.—Translation.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, July 27, 1870.

MR. MINISTER: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor to write me, in which, announcing the early arrival in France of General Sheridan, you ask of me permission for him to follow the headquarters of our army.

I find myself, with earnest regret, under the obligation to tell you that it is impossible to do that you ask from me. A recent decision adopted by the Imperial Government absolutely prohibits access of all foreign officers to our army. This rule is applied with great rigor, and admits of no exception. If any one could be admitted, you cannot doubt the exception would be made in favor of the illustrious soldier, whose presence among our officers would have been considered by them a real honor to our army. I dare to hope, Mr. Minister, that you will not misunderstand the meaning of this decision, which it is very painful to us not to be able to depart from in the particular case you have submitted, when it is a question of a general officer who occupies the high position that General Sheridan justly does in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. By this fact you can form a just idea of the importance of the motives which compel us to this determination.

I take this occasion, &c., &c.

GRAMONT.

No. 9.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 238.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 29, 1870. (Received August 11.)

Referring to my dispatch of the 22d instant, numbered 231, and to the reference therein to the question of the departure of the subjects of the North German Confederation from French territory, I now have the honor to send you the continuation of the correspondence on that subject. It consists of—

First. The reply of the Duke de Gramont to my letter of the 21st instant, marked 1, and

Second. My rejoinder to his excellency's letter, dated the 25th instant, and marked 2.

It is difficult for me to determine the precise nature and extent of the functions devolving upon me in virtue of the protection of the subjects of the North German Confederation, which I have assumed by your direction and with the assent of the French Government. I cannot find that any particular rule has been laid down to govern under such circumstances, and I would be thankful if you could make any suggestions in that regard. But it must be presumed that I am to extend my good offices in every proper manner to such of the North German subjects as may call upon me for advice or protection, but guarding myself carefully against any act which might be considered as inconsistent with the neutral position I occupy. In regard, however, to the doctrines submitted by the Duke de Gramont, in his letter to me of the 23d instant, touching the departure of North German subjects from French territory, I considered them as differing so widely from the well-established principles of public law, at least as understood and acted upon in our own country, that I could not give them even an implied assent. Hence my letter to the Duke de Gramont of the 25th instant, to which I have already made reference herein, and which I trust may meet with your approbation.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, July 23, 1870.

MR. MINISTER: You have done me the honor to inform me that a large number of persons belonging to the North German Confederation have asked your good offices to enable them to return to their country, passing through Belgian territory, and you are good enough to ask me at the same time if the passports given or signed by you would constitute sufficient evidence to assure security in the journey to these persons.

As you have seen, Mr. Minister, by the notice inserted in the Journal Official of the 20th of this month, the government of the Emperor has decided that German citizens will be at liberty to continue their residence in France, and that they will enjoy the protection of our laws as before the war, as long as their conduct does not give any legitimate cause of complaint. Nothing is altered in the design of His Majesty in this regard.

In regard to that which now concerns the North Germans who desire to leave the territory of the empire in order to return into their own country, the government of the Emperor is disposed to accede to the desires of those individuals who are past the age of active military service, reserving the right to examine each particular case as it is presented. Regarding the national confederates who do not find themselves in this situation, and who would like to leave France to respond to the summons of their gov-

ernment which calls them lawfully to return to bear arms against us, the government of the Emperor will not allow their departure. In adopting this line of conduct we have the desire to reconcile, in an equitable degree, the considerations due to respectable private interests with the legitimate exigencies of a state of war. You will please to observe, sir, that the confederate Prussians, whose departure from our territory we prevent for the moment, can with difficulty invoke in their favor the general principles of the law of nations, or the doctrine of the text-writers on this subject. In fact, the German subjects, whom the decision which I have the honor to inform you of concerns, cannot legally be considered as simply private individuals, nor be assimilated to merchants; they are incontestably persons bound to military service as soldiers of the active army or of the landwehr. Now no rule of international law obliges a belligerent to allow to depart from his territory subjects of the enemy, who, from the day of their return to their own country, will be enrolled in the ranks to take part in the hostilities. I will add, in conclusion, that except the obstacle put in the way of their departure from France, the German citizens in question will enjoy the most complete liberty to attend to their business, to carry on their commerce, their industries, or their professions; in other words, they will be precisely on the same footing as those of their compatriots mentioned in the official note of the 20th of this month.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant.

GRAMONT.

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 25, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's communication of the 23d, in reply to mine of the 21st, asking information in behalf of North German confederate subjects desiring to quit French territory.

Your excellency's communication seems to assume the probability that more or less of these applicants are desirous of quitting France to answer to the summons of their own government to bear arms against France, under the provisions of the laws of the North German Confederation. Without undertaking to contest the exactness of this assumption, or without undertaking to inform your excellency whether any or what portion of these applicants are to be found outside of the present limits of liability to bear arms in the ranks of the Confederation in case of their return to North Germany, matters upon which I have not particularly informed myself, you will allow me to remark, in loyal fulfillment of the function that has been confided to me in this regard, that I was not prepared to learn that the exception now proposed to be made by the Government of His Majesty to the disadvantage of a portion, perhaps the largest portion, of the applicants would be insisted on, viz., that a liability to perform military service in the home army constitutes a sufficient reason for the refusal of the ordinary privilege of quitting foreign belligerent territory, on the outbreak of a war between that foreign government and the home nation. If the exception stated by your excellency is to constitute a settled principle of international comity, for I at once concede that there is no question of *absolute right*, but only of comity or social civilization, involved in the decision in the case of these applicants, then I beg leave to suggest that the exception becomes the rule, and that the privilege of returning to one's own country at the outbreak of a war becomes a mere nullity; since, of what male subject, of whatever age or of whatever condition of life, may it not be affirmed that at some time or under some circumstances he may be compelled to join the ranks of his country's armies in her defense; say in some sudden or extreme emergency? And is a distinction to be made between those countries which limit the conscription of their soldiers to a very restricted section of their population and those governments which, like Prussia, the United States, and perhaps Switzerland, bring much the larger proportion of their citizens under the reach of the law of military service? Will your excellency allow me respectfully to suggest that, in the limited examination which I have been able to give to this subject, I find the line of exception now suggested to His Majesty's Government to the general concessions usually made in favor of foreign subjects wishing to quit belligerent territory an entirely new one. Even in feudal times, when the liability to do military duty to the sovereign lord or king was held in much greater strictness than at the present day, I do not find that the point was insisted upon of the returning liege being liable to become a hostile soldier. Certainly, under my own govern-

ment, from which perhaps I borrow my prepossessions, the idea of any such distinction seems to have been long since discarded. For as early as 1798, and when hostilities between the United States and France seemed imminent, probably I may say, in reference to the departure of French subjects from United States territory, my own government, by formal statute, declared that subjects of the hostile nation, who might wish to quit the United States on the outbreak of future hostilities, should be allowed "such reasonable time as may be consistent with the public safety, and according to the dictates of humanity and national hospitality," and "for the recovery, disposal, and removal of their goods and effects, and for their departure." (Laws of the United States, vol. 1, page 577.) Thus your excellency will observe that the privilege is granted in the most unrestricted terms, without allusion to a liability to render military aid to an enemy. I need not add that the same principle is incorporated into various subsisting treaties of the United States, and that the highest American authority on public law, Chancellor Kent, considers the principle to have become an established formula of modern public law. This learned publicist, I may perhaps be permitted to add, quotes various continental publicists, including Emerigon and Vattel, as upholding and ratifying the same doctrine. (*Kent's Commentaries*, vol. 1, pp. 56-59.)

I trust that these suggestions of a liberal construction of the rights of departing belligerents will not be deemed inappropriate or untimely on my part, since your excellency does not apprise me that any public notice of the qualified restraints foreshadowed in your communication have yet been definitely made public, and since from that liberal concession in favor of belligerent residents who do not choose to depart, which His Majesty's Government has published, and to which your excellency has alluded, I deduce an anxious desire on the part of that government to conform as much as possible to the mildest interpretation of the hardships of the laws of war.

It only remains for me to say that if His Majesty's Government has definitely decided the question of the privilege of departing subjects of the North German Confederation in the limited sense which your excellency's communication seems to imply, it would relieve me of trouble in the way of answering personal applications, if the French Government should deem it proper to make a public announcement of its determination upon that point, or to advise me by a personal communication. I should also be glad to be informed if my own intervention or agency can be of any avail in enabling His Majesty's officials to judge of the fitness of granting the departure of those particular applicants who may happen to be without the limits of the age of military service in the North German Confederation Army, and as to which you intimate that the French Government reserves to itself the right of judging each case as it shall arise.

I take the present occasion, &c., &c., &c.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT, &c., &c.

No. 10.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish

No. 239.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 29, 1870. (Received August 11.)

The French Government having notified this legation that the Emperor had decided that the consular agents of the North German Confederation in France must cease to exercise their official functions, and it having advised me that it had instructed the prefects of the different departments that the interests of the subjects of the Confederation, who should continue to reside in France, were, during the war, confided to the consular agents of the United States, I have thought proper to issue a circular to our consular agents, a copy of which I have the honor to inclose. It is issued as an answer to many inquiries on this subject, addressed to me by our consuls.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Circular.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 28, 1870.

SIR: The legation of the United States in France, acting under the authority of the State Department, and with the assent of the French Government, has taken under its protection all subjects of the North German Confederation residing in French territory. The states of Saxony, Hesse Grand-Ducal, and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, are included.

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor, in notifying to this legation that the Emperor had decided that the consular agents of the North German Confederation in France must cease to exercise their functions, added it had informed the prefects of the different departments that the interests of the subjects of the Confederation, who should continue to reside in France, were confided, during the war, to the consular agents of the United States.

Under these circumstances Mr. Washburne desires to state, that it will be your duty to give every proper assistance, consistent with the functions with which you have been charged, and the proper discharge of your own duties, to North German subjects.

If the business of any consulate of the North German Confederation should require it, a clerk should be furnished you to perform the clerical duties, under your direction. The form of your signature to any certificate should be as follows:

Le consul des États-Unis d'Amérique, chargé des affaires des sujets de la Confédération de l'Allemagne du Nord à ——

(Signature.)

If you are requested so to do, you will take charge of the archives of the consulate of the North German Confederation, and give the clerk a seat in your office.

As regards passports and visées, the French Government has decided that it will not authorize the departure from French territory of such subjects of the North German Confederation as owe military service to their government.

As to those cases where such liability is alleged not to exist, they will be examined separately, under such regulations as may hereafter be made known. It would not be well, therefore, to give any subject of the North German Confederation any passport, or any certificate in the nature of a visé, until you shall receive some specific instructions in this respect.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN,
Secretary of Legation.

No. 11.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 240.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 29, 1870. (Received August 11, 1870.)

In addition to what I have said in the various dispatches which go by the bag to-day, I have very little to add. The Emperor left for the army yesterday. I send you his decree conferring on the Empress the title of Regent, which appeared in the Journal Officiel of the 27th instant.

Paris is exceedingly quiet, and there is nothing whatever in the shape of war news.

The English and French journals which you receive at the State Department will advise you fully in regard to all matters connected with the alleged project of a treaty between France and Prussia. This affair has created a great sensation in the diplomatic and other circles of Paris. The note from the Journal Officiel on this subject, which I inclose, renders it evident that a scheme of alliance between France and Prussia was discussed at Berlin, and that some of the ideas contained in the published project were then suggested. This matter has gone so far now that it must be probed to the very bottom. Nothing less than the whole truth will satisfy the public and the nations of the earth.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.]

PARIS, July 28, 1870.

The Journal Officiel publishes the following important decree :

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French, to all whom these presents may concern, greeting :

"Wishing to give to our well-beloved consort, the Empress, a proof of the confidence which we have in her, and having the intention to place ourselves at the head of the army, we have resolved to confer, and do hereby confer, on the Empress the title of Regent, to exercise the functions of that charge as soon as we shall have left our capital, in conformity with our instructions and orders, as we shall have given them in the general directions of the service which we shall have established, and which will be transcribed on the book of state. Our intention is to communicate to our ministers the said orders and instructions, and that in no case the Empress can depart from their rigor, in the exercise of her functions of Regent. We desire that the Empress shall preside in our name over the Council of Ministers. We do not, however, intend that the Empress-Regent shall authorize by her signature the promulgation of any law other than those now pending before the senate, the legislative body, and the council of state, referring on that subject to the orders and instructions above mentioned. We order our keeper of the seals, minister of justice and public worship, to communicate the present letters patent to the senate, which will inscribe them on its books, and publish them in the *Bulletin des Lois*.

"Given at the palace of the Tuilleries this day of 23d July, 1870.

"NAPOLEON.

(Countersigned)

"EMILE OLLIVIER,

"Minister of Justice."

The Journal Officiel publishes an imperial decree declaring the departments of the Moselle, the Haut-Rhin, and the Bas-Rhin to be in a state of siege. A second decree calls into active service the 90,000 men forming the contingent of the class of 1869. A third appoints a committee presided over by the Empress, and consisting of seventeen members, among whom are the ministers of the interior, finance, war, and marine, for distributing the patriotic offerings made, according to the intentions of the donors. A fourth names General de Canu to be aid-de-camp to the Emperor.

The Paris journals continue to remark on the draught of the treaty published by the Times, and all, without exception, seem to think that it merits but little attention. The *Pays et Peuple Français* declared that something of the kind was formerly proposed by Count de Bismarck to the Emperor, but emphatically set aside by the latter. Others of our contemporaries draw attention to the fact that in the wording the name of Prussia comes first, as is always the case with the designation and titles of the proposing party. The *Constitutionnel* expresses itself as follows :

"The Times, with a rashness of judgment unworthy of so important an organ, affirms that the project of partition was proposed by France to Prussia, and, starting from that assumption, it seeks to excite public opinion in England against the Emperor Napoleon's government. Well, this time, the London newspaper has been badly served by its Prussian inspirers. The veracity of the statesmen of Berlin cannot be depended upon. For a long time they have been accustomed to tread under foot treaties, to deny their acts and their words, if such a course was useful to their designs, to disregard, in a word, all good faith and straightforwardness. The French Government has not to fear the broad daylight, and it does not recoil from any species of disclosure. Let every one know, then, that the projected Franco-Prussian treaty, published by the Times and other organs of Count de Bismarck, really exists ; only—and this is the essential point—it is the work of the federal chancellor. Does not every one remember the famous phrase of the Prussian minister, after Sadowa, when a question arose of compensations for France : 'Instead of speaking of equivalents,' he exclaimed, 'she ought to take Belgium !' That expression is the point of departure of the convention by the aid of which M. de Bismarck hoped to purchase the acquiescence of France in the conquest of Prussia. The Emperor's government rejected those offers, which prove that, to the Prussian chancellor, all means were good to obtain a sanction for his policy of violence and iniquity. Public opinion is therefore enlightened on this project ; it has had a fresh proof of the count's cynicism, as, at the risk of a categorical denial, he has gone so far as to attribute to France schemes of spoliation conceived by himself. But what does M. de Bismarck care about denials, and what do they cost him ? Did he not also dispute the affirmation of the Duke de Gramont that, in March, 1869, Count Benedetti, by order of the imperial government, protested against the Hohenzollern candidature, and that the Prussian ministers then pledged their honor that the affair should not be proceeded with ? Well, MM. de Bismarck and de Thile, after having failed in their word of honor, aggravated their fault by a contradiction, of which we immediately pointed out the ambiguous character. The new circular of the minister for foreign affairs completely confounds the Berlin cabinet. Doubt is no longer possible when one has read the dispatch of M. Benedetti, dated the 31st March, 1869 ; at that period Count

de Bismarck had already conceived the project the realization of which has been prevented by the manly energy of the Duke de Gramont. The document lately issued by the minister of foreign affairs proves also that in the phase of negotiations which preceded the declaration of war, frankness and correct proceedings were on the side of the imperial government, and that subterfuges and perfidy were on that of Prussia."

The Journal Officiel gives the subjjoined explanation :

"The Times publishes a pretended treaty between France and Prussia, having for object to facilitate the annexation to France of Luxembourg and Belgium, on condition that she should not oppose the union of the states of Southern Germany with the Northern Confederation. After the treaty of Prague some negotiations did certainly take place at Berlin between Count de Bismarck and the French embassy on the subject of a proposed alliance. Some of the ideas contained in the document inserted by the Times were mooted, but the French Government never had any knowledge of a plan drawn up in writing, and as to the proposals which may have formed the subject of conversation in those interviews they were rejected by the Emperor Napoleon. No one will fail to see in what interest and with what object efforts are being made to mislead public opinion in England."

No. 12.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 242.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 29, 1870. (Received August 11, 1870.)

SIR : I have just learned, what may be a matter of some interest to you, that the subjects of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden have been put under the protection of the Swiss minister, Mr. Kern, during the war between France and Prussia.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 13.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 2, 1870.

MY DEAR MR. BANCROFT : I have this morning received yours of the 27th ultimo.

It was a kind and thoughtful suggestion of the German Government, and I am obliged for the friendly message.

I am glad that you properly appreciated what would be my views on the subject. The functions that I have assumed will devolve much labor on the legation, and some additional assistance will be required, but I should as soon think of permitting my guest to pay for his dinner as to permit the German Government to be at any expense whatever in regard to this whole matter. I am certain that the feelings of both of us will be fully shared by our government. In looking after that matter referred to by you in your cipher dispatch, I have this moment learned that a concern at Liege has an order for 20,000,000 cartridges to go to Peru, it being alleged that "the order came through Mr. Washburne, the American minister at Paris." It is evident that there is something foul going on, and I shall probe the matter to the bottom.

This information is confided to me *confidentially*. I shall keep you fully advised of all proper matters.

Yours, very truly,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT.

No. 14.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 244.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 4, 1870.

SIR: Mr. Bancroft wrote me from Berlin, under date of the 27th ultimo, stating that, as the protection of German citizens in France would give much trouble, the German Government had sent for him on that day, and requested him to say to me that, as my own force in the legation would hardly be sufficient to attend to all the details of the business with which I would be charged, if I would employ one or more clerks the government of the North German Confederation would bear the expense. In transmitting this friendly message to me Mr. Bancroft said he could not doubt what would be my judgment in this matter; that, while I might employ the additional force necessary, he thought our government would not wish to have the German Government defray any of the expenses which might be incurred in that direction. Germany having asked our hospitality, I replied to Mr. Bancroft that I fully shared his views on this subject, as I had no doubt our government would. I stated to him that, while the functions I had assumed would involve much labor on the legation, and that some additional assistance would be required, I should as soon think of permitting my guest to pay for his dinner as to allow the German Government to be at any expense whatever in regard to matters connected with the protection by our government of its subjects in France.

I desire to state that I have had to employ an additional messenger, for the reason that the regular one has to be absent from the office much of the time, and the legation is thronged from morning to night. I have also been obliged to engage the services of a Prussian who was a clerk in the North German consulate in Paris, for it was necessary that I should have some man who not only spoke the German language, but who was somewhat familiar with the wishes and desires of the numbers of Prussian subjects who are constantly calling upon me for advice and assistance. I trust that my action in this regard may meet with your approval.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 15.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 246.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 5, 1870.

SIR: Since my dispatches by the bag of a week ago, no events have transpired here of which you have not had quite full accounts through the public journals, since the restrictions have been put on the press in France. I think it will turn out that you will have fuller information every day in Washington in regard to the military operations of both sides than we have here. American journalism carries its enterprise everywhere, and news will be transmitted to the United States which cannot be made public in France. I need not allude to the recent taking of Saarbruck by the French, as you will have had full accounts of it

before this time, and from which you will be able to judge of the degree of importance to be attached to it.

The past week has been an interesting one, growing out of the extraordinary agitations which have prevailed over all Europe.

The great subject of discussion here has been in regard to the probabilities of the other powers of Europe being drawn into the vortex of this war. Our representatives to the different powers in Europe will have kept you advised in relation to the sentiments and feeling in the countries to which they are accredited, and I consider it useless for me to speculate on future events, involved, as they are, in so much doubt and uncertainty. It is the opinion of many of the most intelligent and best-informed men that it will be impossible to localize the conflict already inaugurated, and that we are on the eve of a grand European war, England and Russia joining Prussia, while Austria, Italy, and Denmark will unite with France. I am not myself prepared to make any predictions in that regard, and do not now anticipate any great battle for some time to come, though one may occur any day, and in the mean time I believe that the powers not already involved will be strengthened in their purposes to maintain their neutrality.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 16.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 248.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 5, 1870. (Received August 17, 1870.)

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a printed copy of a dispatch addressed by his excellency the Duke de Gramont, minister of foreign affairs, to the diplomatic agents of France at foreign courts, on the subject of the treaty said to have been proposed by the Emperor of the French to the Government of the North German Confederacy. It is taken from the columns of Galignani of this day.

I have, &c.

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

The Duke de Gramont to the diplomatic agents of France.

PARIS, August 3.

MONSIEUR: We are at present acquainted with the full explanation of the telegram addressed by Count de Bismarck to the Prussian ambassador at London, to announce to England the pretended secrets of which the federal chancellor stated himself to be the depositary. His communication adds no essential fact to those which he had advanced. We find in it only a few additional improbabilities. We shall not reply to them, for public opinion has already treated as they deserved assertions which do not gain any authority from the audacity with which they are repeated, and we consider as definitively established, in spite of all contradiction, the fact that the Emperor Napoleon never proposed to Prussia a treaty for taking possession of Belgium. That idea belongs to M. de Bismarck; it was one of the expedients of that unscrupulous policy which, we hope, is approaching its termination.

I should therefore abstain from reverting to statements, the falsity of which is now manifest, had not the author of the Prussian dispatch, with a want of tact which I remark for the first time to such a degree in a diplomatic document, spoken of relatives of the Emperor as bearers of compromising messages and confidences. Whatever may

S. Ex. 24—2

be the repugnance with which I see myself forced, in order to follow the Prussian minister, to enter on a path contrary to my habits, I overcome that sentiment because my duty requires me to repel the perfidious insinuations which, directed against the members of the imperial family, are evidently intended to reach the Emperor himself.

It was at Berlin that M. de Bismarck, taking the initiative of the ideas which he now wishes to attribute to us, addressed in the following terms the French prince, whom, in spite of all propriety, he at present drags into the controversy :

" You seek," he said, " what is impossible; you wish to take the Rhenish provinces, which are German. Why not annex Belgium, where a people exists which has the same origin, the same religion, and the same language as yourselves? I have already suggested the idea to the Emperor; if he entertained my views, we would aid you to take that state. As for myself, if I was master, and was not hampered by the King's obstinacy, it would have been already done."

Those words of the Prussian chancellor were, so to say, repeated literally to the court of France by Count de Goltz. That ambassador so little attempted concealment, that the number of witnesses who heard him is considerable. I may add that, at the period of the Universal Exhibition, the overtures of Prussia were known to several high personages, who took note of them, and still remember them. Besides, this was not a mere passing idea with the count, but a well-concerted project, to which his ambitious plans were attached; and he pursued its execution with a perseverance thoroughly proved by his numerous excursions to France, either to Biarritz or elsewhere. He failed before the unshakable determination of the Emperor, who always refused to join in a policy unworthy of his integrity.

I now leave this subject, which I have touched on for the last time, with the firm intention of not again reverting to it; and I come to the point, really new, in Count de Bismarck's dispatch :

" I have, beside, reason to believe," he says, " that had the publication in question not taken place, so soon as our and the French preparations for war were complete, propositions would have been made to us by France jointly, and at the head of a million armed men, to carry out against unarmed Europe the proposals formerly made to us, and either before or after the first battle to conclude peace on the basis of the Benu-detti proposals, and at the expense of Belgium."

The Emperor's government cannot tolerate such an assertion. In the face of Europe, his Majesty's ministers defy M. de Bismarck to bring forward any fact whatever which could lead to the supposition they have manifested, directly or indirectly, by official channels or through secret agents, the intention to unite with Prussia to accomplish with her on Belgium the violence consummated on Hanover.

We have not opened any negotiations with the Prussian minister, either on the subject of Belgium or on any other matter. Far from seeking war, as we have been accused of doing, we begged Lord Clarendon to intervene with the federal chancellor to procure a reciprocal disarmament, an important mission with which his lordship, through friendship for France and devotedness to ideas of peace, consented to undertake confidentially. The following are the terms in which Count Daru, in a letter of the 1st February, explained the intentions of the government to the Marquis de la Valette, our ambassador at London :

" It is certain that I shall not mix myself up in this affair, and that I should not ask England to do so, if the question was purely and simply an ordinary proceeding and one of pure form, made simply to furnish M. de Bismarck with an occasion to express once more his refusal. The overture which we make is decided, serious, and positive.

" The principal secretary of state seems to expect from Count de Bismarck a first movement of displeasure and ill humor. That is possible, but not certain. In that provision we shall perhaps do well to prepare the ground so as to avoid a negative reply from the commencement.

" I am convinced that time and reflection will lead the chancellor to take into serious consideration the proposal of England; should he not at once reject all overtures, the interests of Prussia and of the whole of Germany will not be sufficient to moderate his resistance. He would not wish to excite against him public opinion throughout his country. What, in fact, would be his position if we deprived him of the only pretext behind which he can take refuge, by disarming?"

Count de Bismarck replied first that he could not take on himself to inform the King of the suggestions of the British Government, and that he was sufficiently acquainted with the views of his sovereign to know what the impressions of William I would be. The King, he said, would certainly consider such a step on the part of the cabinet of London as the proof of a change in the dispositions of England toward Prussia. In fine, the federal chancellor declared that " it was impossible for Prussia to modify a military system so deeply rooted in the traditions of the country, which formed one of the bases of its constitution, and which was quite normal."

Count Daru did not accept that reply as definitive, and on the 13th February wrote to the Marquis de la Valette as follows :

" I hope that Lord Clarendon will not take that answer as final and will not be dis-

couraged. We will shortly give him an opportunity of returning to the charge, if he is disposed to do so, and to take up the conversation which has been interrupted with the federal chancellor. Our intention is, in fact, to diminish our contingent; we should have reduced it considerably if we had obtained a favorable reply from Count de Bismarck; we shall decrease it less, as his answer is negative, but we shall nevertheless diminish it. The reduction I shall propose will be 10,000 men.

"We shall thus be affirming by acts, which are always better than words, our intentions and our policy. Nine contingents, each reduced by 10,000 will make a total diminution of 90,000. That is already something; it is a tenth of our present force, and I regret that I am not able to do more. The bill on the contingent will be brought forward immediately. Lord Clarendon will then have to consider whether there will be an advisability of representing to Count de Bismarck that the Prussian Government is alone in Europe in not making any concession to the spirit of peace, and that it is thus placing itself in a grave situation in the midst of European society, because it is furnishing arms against itself to every one, including the populations crushed beneath the burden of the military charges it imposes on them."

Count de Bismarck, being closely pressed, thought necessary to enter into some fresh explanations with Lord Clarendon.

Those explanations, as we are acquainted with them by a letter of the Marquis de la Valette, dated the 23d February, were full of reticences. The chancellor of the Prussian Confederation, reconsidering his first resolution, had communicated to King William the proposal of England, but his Majesty had declined it. In support of that refusal the chancellor alleged the fear of an eventual alliance between Austria and the States of Southern Germany, and the ideas of aggrandizement which France might have. But he especially put forward the anxiety with which he said he was filled by the policy of Russia, and entered on that subject into private considerations on the court of St. Petersburg, which I prefer to pass over in silence, not wishing to repeat offensive insinuations. Such are the motives of refusal which Count de Bismarck opposed to the frank and conscientious entreaties repeatedly renewed by Lord Clarendon at the request of the Emperor's government.

If, therefore, Europe has remained in arms; if a million of men are about to come into collision on fields of battle, the fact can no longer be contested that the responsibility for such a state of things rests with Prussia; for she rejected all ideas of disarming when we made the proposal to her, and when we commenced by giving an example. Is not that conduct besides explained by the fact that at the same moment in which confiding France was diminishing her contingent, the cabinet of Berlin was organizing in secret the provocative candidacy of a Prussian prince? Whatever may be the calumnies invented by the federal chancellor, we have no fear; he has lost the right of being believed. The public conscience of Europe and history will say that Prussia sought for the present war by inflicting on France, preoccupied by the development of her political institutions, the outrage which no proud and courageous people could have submitted to without deserving the contempt of the nations.

GRAMONT.

No. 17.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 249.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, August 8, 1870. (Received August 24, 1870.)

SIR: In my dispatch of Friday last, August 5, No. 246, I ventured the prediction that there would be no great battle immediately, though qualifying it in parentheses, that such a battle might occur any day. When writing that dispatch on Friday forenoon little did I suppose that there had been a very serious fight on the day before at Weissenbourg, on the French frontier, which had resulted in a practical defeat of the French army. Although the London Times of that (Friday) morning contained a dispatch from Berlin, giving an account of the battle, yet the French public were kept in utter ignorance of it until between twelve and one o'clock of that day, when a very brief notice of the affair was communicated to the press by the French authorities. The suppression of the intelligence for so long a time excited a good deal of indignation among the public, and the Parisian newspapers are particularly indignant that

the London Times should have published the news six or eight hours before it was given to them. Things, however, passed on quietly enough until about noon on Saturday, when, as the report goes, a man in the uniform of a courier, or messenger, rode up to the front of the Bourse, where a large crowd had already assembled, and delivered into the hands of a person, who was evidently his confederate, what purported to be an official dispatch, and which gave an account of a great battle having been fought, in which the French had been victorious, taken forty guns, twenty-five thousand prisoners, among whom was included the Crown Prince. A spark of fire falling upon a magazine would hardly have produced a greater explosion. The assembled multitude broke out into the wildest shouts and the contents of the dispatch were repeated from mouth to mouth, and men ran in every direction communicating the joyful intelligence. The people rushed into the streets; flags were everywhere displayed, men embraced and kissed each other, shedding tears of joy. Shouts, vociferations, and oaths filled the air and probably such a delirium was never before witnessed. Rue Richelieu, the Boulevards Montmartre and Italiens, and the Rue de la Paix were filled with people singing the Marseillaise. Everybody declared that the news was true; they had seen the official report; there could be no doubt of its correctness. Madame Sass, a distinguished opera singer, was found in the street and the crowd insisted upon her singing the Marseillaise from her carriage, which she sang three times amid transports of enthusiasm. In another part of the street the multitude forced another distinguished singer to mount to the top of an omnibus, also to sing the Marseillaise. After the first furore of the enthusiasm had subsided some persons began to suggest that it would be well to inquire a little further into the news, and of course the result was that it proved to be a stupendous hoax. The songs at once ceased, the flags were taken in, and the victims of the canard began to feel indignant. As it originated at the Bourse, the cry was raised in the crowd "a la Bourse," and away the people went, breathing vengeance against the money-changers and speculators who, it is alleged, had taken advantage of the false report to get the benefit of a rise of about four per cent. in the stocks. Never were money-changers more summarily driven out of their temple. In a few moments all persons in the Bourse were expelled, some of whom, it is said, were thrown head and heels out of the windows and doors. In a short time, however, about half-past three o'clock, the crowd left there, greatly exasperated at having been made victims of so cruel a hoax, and directed themselves towards Place Vendome, halting under the windows of the minister of justice. There they shouted for Emile Ollivier and demanded of him the closing of the Bourse from which the false news had emanated. M. Ollivier responded in a short and well-turned speech, closing by asking them to disperse, which they did.

At about five o'clock in the afternoon a group of persons, numbering about three thousand, gathered in front of the ministry of justice and again demanded that M. Ollivier should show himself and make another speech, but the minister refused to do so a second time. The vociferations then increased every instant and hostile cries were raised against the minister by the multitude, who demanded the name of the author of the false news, and reclaimed the liberty of the press. Passing myself through Place Vendome at half past five o'clock, I saw this turbulent crowd in front of the ministry and stopped to ascertain the cause of it. Soon M. Ollivier made his appearance at the window and commenced a speech, but the tumult, "noise and confusion," was so great that I could understand but very little from the position where I stood. It was evi-

dently not very satisfactory, for the people did not disperse immediately, as he had requested, but began shouting in favor of the liberty of the press and raising hostile cries against M. Ollivier. The public hold him responsible for the terrible severity of the press law which prevents them from getting any news from the army. It requires everything to come through official channels, and is given out at such times and in such measure as may suit the purposes of government.

In the evening of Saturday, Colonel Moore, of this legation, went down town to watch the progress of events. At 10 o'clock he found Place Vendôme literally crammed with both men and women, who were in the highest state of excitement, singing a new song called the "Press song," and raising menacing cries against the minister of justice. Afterward, large crowds of people collected in Rue de la Paix, on the Boulevards, and in the Place de la Madeleine, all singing and shouting, evidently in very bad temper. They were, however, restrained from violence by large bodies of troops, who appeared in different parts of the city, and I can bear of no acts of actual violence having been perpetrated.

The official journal of yesterday (Sunday) contains a dispatch of two lines, dated at Metz, at 11 o'clock the evening before; it simply says: "The corps of General Frossard is in retreat. There are no details." That was enough to inspire the greatest uneasiness and anxiety. The dispatch gave no indication of where the battle was fought, or what was the extent of the losses, while the great Paris public was tormented with fear and suspense. A proclamation of the Empress and the ministry appeared at noon in the second edition of the official journal. This proclamation contained a bulletin from the Emperor, dated at Metz, at half past 12 o'clock Sunday a. m., announcing that Marshal McMahon had lost a battle, and that General Frossard had been obliged to retreat. Another bulletin from the Emperor, dated at Metz three hours later, announced that his communications with Marshal McMahon were interrupted, and that he had no news of him since the day before; and still another, one hour later, from headquarters at Metz, both of which were also contained in the proclamation to the minister of the interior, gave a very brief account of the battles of McMahon and Frossard, but said that details were wanting. It further stated that the troops were full of *élan*, and that the situation was not compromised, but that the enemy was on French territory, and a serious effort was necessary. Thereupon, the proclamation went on to say that in the presence of the grave news, the duty was clear, and that an appeal was made to the patriotism and energy of all; that therefore:

"The chambers are convoked; we will place Paris in a state of defense; to facilitate the execution of military preparation, we declare it in a state of siege."

A decree of the Empress Regent convokes the Senate and the Corps Législatif for Thursday, the 11th of August. Another decree by Her Majesty places the department of Seine in a state of siege. I immediately telegraphed you as follows:

PARIS, 7th August, 1870—4 p. m.

General Frossard's corps beaten. Marshal McMahon defeated. His communication with Emperor cut off. Paris declared in a state of siege. Legislative bodies convoked for 11th August.

It is difficult to convey to you any adequate idea of the state of feeling which this extraordinary news from the battle-field, to which was added the declaration of the siege of Paris and the convocation of the Corps Législatif, has created. Paris has hardly ever seen such a day since the time of the first revolution. The whole people seem

paralyzed by the terrible events which have burst upon them in such rapid and fearful succession. The rain that was falling yesterday may have some influence in keeping the people from the streets, but on going down town in the afternoon I found people collected in knots about the Grand Hotel and on the Boulevards, reading the newspapers, and discussing the situation. Afterward, I saw large crowds proceeding in the rain toward the ministry of justice, in Place Vendôme, which seems to be the objective point, owing to the hostility which appears to exist against M. Ollivier.

By a decree in the official journal of this morning, the time for the meeting of the legislative bodies is changed, and they are to meet to-morrow.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 18.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 10, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have already in two instances (and may do so in more, if not advised by you to the contrary), given a sort of passport or request to the civil and military authorities of North Germany that they might permit the parties named to enter German territory to look after wounded relatives. I do not know what rule that government will adopt in such cases, or whether it will permit Frenchmen, under any circumstances, to enter their territory; but if they should in such cases as I have referred to, the papers I give will be the identification of the individual.

I would be glad to be instructed at the earliest moment as to this matter, for I may have many such applications. Concessions of this kind to citizens of the French Government may perhaps aid me in my very difficult and trying task of protecting German subjects here in France.

I am, in great haste, very truly, yours, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEO. BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

P. S.—I am literally overrun; but I am doing all in my power to fulfill my mission in a loyal and proper manner to the fullest extent allowed me by the French Government.

E. B. W.

No. 19.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 250.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 11, 1870. (Received August 23.)

SIR: Colonel Hoffman says that upon an examination of the question, General Dix, while minister, had considered himself obliged to give a

kind of qualified passport to foreigners, who exhibited to him a proper evidence that they had declared their intention of becoming citizens of the United States; and he also says he once saw such a passport from the Department of State. He had, therefore, been in the habit of giving passports in the ordinary form to such foreigners, except that they did not state that they were citizens of the United States, but only that they had declared their "intention of becoming citizens of the United States." Since the breaking out of the war, however, I examined the question for myself, and I could not find anything either in the law or in the last instructions of the State Department that would warrant the issuing of a passport to any other than a full citizen of the United States; but so many persons were applying to me for some sort of a passport who had only made their declaration of intention, that I thought fit to ask instructions on the subject from you by telegraph. I have duly received the reply of Mr. Davis, which is in accord with my own views; and I shall henceforth permit no passport to be issued except to a full citizen of the United States.

I send you herewith a copy of the passport used at this legation, showing the phraseology used by Colonel Hoffman in the passports he has given to persons who have applied as having declared their intention. But three of these have been issued since the commencement of the war.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 20.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 251.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris August 11, 1870. (Received August 23.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of a letter I addressed to the Duke de Gramont, together with the translation of his reply. The correspondence explains itself.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, July 30, 1870.

SIR: In view of the fact that I have been charged with the protection of the subjects of the North German Confederation, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Hesse-Grand-Ducal, residents in France, certain of those subjects have called upon me and expressed a wish to have some kind of a certificate from me, which they think will be a protection. I can see no objection to my giving them a proper certificate of this character; but before doing so, I beg to submit for the approval of your excellency a form that I have prepared, and which I send herewith.

I take the present opportunity, &c., &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 2.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

PARIS, August 5, 1870.

SIR : You did me the honor to inform me on the 30th ultimo that a considerable number of German subjects, placed under the semi-official protection of the legation of the United States at Paris, had expressed to you the desire of obtaining from you a sort of certificate, to which they seemed to attach a certain importance as regards their security. You deemed it proper at the same time to forward a draught of this document to me, to be submitted for the approval of my department.

I cannot understand, sir, the utility of such a certificate, the possession of which, you will readily perceive, will add in no respect to the security of the German subjects to whom it may be granted, provided their conduct gives no cause for complaint, and which would have no effect in protecting them against the consequences to which they would be exposed by culpable actions. With this reservation, I will add that, in case you should not judge it desirable to refuse a certificate to those Germans who may claim it, I have no objection to make to the form in which you propose to draw it. I am, moreover, this moment in receipt of a notice from the minister of the interior, that all Germans resident in France are required to provide themselves, from competent French authorities, with a permission to remain. This police regulation appears to me to render all the more unnecessary the delivery of a certificate by the legation of the United States.

Accept, sir, the assurances, &c., &c.,

GRAMONT.

MR. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States.

No. 21.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Telegram.]

PARIS, August 12, 1870.

FISH, Washington :

French Government decides North Germans, with certain exceptions, quit France. Advise Prussian Government and instruct me. Impossible for great numbers of poor to leave without pecuniary aid.

Will Prussian Government place a credit at my disposition to assist poor in leaving ? It seems necessary in the interest of humanity.

WASHBURN.

No. 22.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 252.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 12, 1870. (Received August 23.)

SIR : I had the honor to write you a brief unofficial letter to go by open mail on Tuesday last, giving you a hurried account of the opening of the Corps Législatif on that day. I now send you a more particular and extended statement of the proceedings at that remarkable sitting.

The president took his seat at half past 1 o'clock p. m., and at the appointed time the members came rapidly into the hall. The ministers also came in and took their places on the ministerial benches. I believe they were all present except General Le Bœuf, the minister of war, who is in the field.

As this session of the Corps Législatif was one of the most extraordinary which has been held since the revolution of 1848, if not since the first revolution, I will endeavor to give you some idea of it. I went at an early hour in order to get a good seat in the diplomatic tribune, and saw and heard all that took place. The Corps Législatif may be said generally to be composed of men of more than ordinary ability, most of whom have become somewhat distinguished in one way or another.

As a body, it is composed of older men than the members of our House of Representatives, and the number of deputies is about the same as we have in our House. Its political divisions are the "Right," the "Center," and the "Left"; but some go still further and class the parties not only as the Right, Center, and Left, but add the "Center Right" and "Center Left" and the "Extreme Left." The prominent deputies of the Extreme Right are Forcade, Pinard, Duvernois, Cassagnac, Jerome David, all men of ability, with more or less parliamentary experience and able speakers. In the Center Left there is a large number of men of fair ability and high character, men like Daru, Buffet, Mége, Chevandier de Valdrome, and Talhouët. M. Ollivier is classed with the Center Left, and is the only orator of any distinction that appertains to that division. The real ability, the dash, the boldness, and the eloquence appertains to the Left. Many of these men have the qualities which were attributed to the Girondists and the Mountain in the National Convention. * * *

I now proceed to give you an account of what took place at the opening session on Tuesday last. As the deputies filed rapidly into the hall the members of the Right and Center generally quietly took their seats, but there was great agitation among the members of the Left.

The president having declared the session opened, he had only read the formal part of the proclamation convening the legislative bodies, reciting, "By the grace of God and the national will, Emperor of the French," when many members of the Left broke out in furious exclamations, saying that they did not want any more of that, and it was sometime before the president could finish reading the document. After he had concluded he awarded the floor to Emile Ollivier, minister of justice, who mounted the tribune and commenced developing the reasons why the chamber was called together. He had only said a few words, when he was met with the most boisterous and insulting interruptions. A member of the Left having cried out that the country had been compromised, Jules Favre exclaimed, "Yes; by the imbecility of its chief! Come down from the tribune! It is a shame!" Arago cried out that the public safety required that the ministers should get out of the way. Pelletan says: "You have lost the country, but it will save itself in spite of you!"

At length Ollivier was able to conclude his speech, which he read from a written manuscript. The floor was then given to General De Jean, the minister of war *ad interim*, who proposed a law and stated the reasons therefor. Jules Favre then obtained the floor and proposed resolutions in relation to the defense of the country, looking to the reorganization of the national guard. He mounted the tribune to speak to his resolutions. Rising to the highest point of eloquence, he denounced in unmeasured terms the weakness, mismanagement, and folly of the ministers, and the wretched manner in which the army had been commanded. He said that it was necessary that the Emperor should abandon headquarters and return to Paris, and that in order to save the country the chambers should take all powers into its hands. He then proposed a decree providing for an executive committee of fif-

teen deputies, who should be invested with the full powers of government to repel foreign invasion. This proposition was received with yells of denunciation by the Right, who denounced it as revolutionary and unconstitutional, and the president so decided.

After Mr. Jules Favre had concluded, Granier de Cassagnac, a member of the Extreme Right * * * * rushed to the tribune and his first words were to denounce the proposition of Favre, as the commencement of revolution. He proceeded in a strain of bitter denunciation, amid the shouts, vociferations, and gestures of almost the entire Left. He accused them of hiding behind their privileges to destroy the government of the Emperor, who was in the face of the enemy. Here came interruptions, calls to order, and threats. Thirty members of the Left were on their feet, yelling at Cassagnac and shaking their fists toward him, and he answered by shaking his fist at them, and, all of this time the members of the Right were applauding Cassagnac, who finally wound up with the terrible threat that if he were a minister he would send the members of the Left to a military tribunal before night. This was followed by one of the most terrific explosions ever witnessed in a legislative body. All of the deputies of the Left jumped to their feet and raised their voices in most indignant protest. And then rose up the deputies of the Right to drown the cries of the Left with their own vociferations. Jules Simon descended into the area in front of the tribune, gesticulating with vehemence, saying if they dared to send them to a council of war they were ready to go; that if they wanted to shoot them they would find them ready. This added to the tumult. Nearly all the members were on their feet. The voice of Simon was heard above the din, "If you want violence, you shall have it." At this moment Estancelin, under great excitement, cried out, "The minister of foreign affairs laughs." Jules Ferry was heard in the uproar to say that it was not proper "for a minister who was attempting to negotiate a peace, to" —, and here his voice was lost in the tumult. Nearly the entire Left then started from their places and rushed to the area in front of the tribune, and up to the seats of the ministers; Estancelin, Ferry, and old Garnier Pages in front. They shook their fists directly in the face of the minister of foreign affairs, the Duke de Gramont, who sat fixed without moving a muscle. Here the tumult reached its height. A hundred men were screaming at the top of their voices, and the president rang his bell furiously, but all to no effect. And then, as a signal that he had lost all control of the assembly and as a flag of distress, he covered himself by putting on his hat. The *huissiers* then rushed in and separated the contending parties, and, some minutes after, comparative quiet was restored. The debate continued for some time, but amid the greatest excitement. Finally, after a session of two hours, when all sides seemed wearied by the contest, the chamber took a recess until five o'clock.

The first action of the chamber after it reassembled was a proposition, substantially expressing a want of confidence in the ministry, and the question was carried and fully disposed of in less time than it takes me to write about it, and the ministry all at once found themselves practically out of office, not more than a dozen members rising in their favor. They asked leave to retire for consultation, and in a few moments brought in their resignations, with a statement that the Empress Regent had directed the Count Palikao to form a new ministry. The chamber then adjourned amidst intense excitement. During all of the session the building in which it was held was surrounded by troops to keep

away the crowd that had assembled on the Pont de la Concorde, at the Place de la Concorde, and along the quays.

In leaving the chamber I had occasion to go to the foreign office. I found there the gates all closed and a regiment of infantry quartered in the court. I returned to the legation and sent you a telegraphic dispatch in regard to the doings of the Corps Législatif, and the resignation of the ministry. In another dispatch, which I shall have the honor to address you to-day, I will give you the names of the new ministry, a portion of which I telegraphed on Wednesday.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 23.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 253.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 12, 1870. (Received August 23.)

SIR: In view of the threatened, and, in some cases, the actual, maltreatment of the subjects of the powers now at war with France, I have been concerting measures with Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, who is charged with the protection of the subjects of Bavaria and Baden, and with Mr. Okouneff, the Russian chargé d'affaires, who is charged with the protection of the subjects of Würtemburg, to secure from the French Government that treatment and protection to such of those subjects as find themselves in France at this moment as is due under such circumstances to all subjects of a belligerent power. There are a great many threats, and occasional instances of violence, enough to inspire great terror among the Germans, who are coming in crowds to the legation. In all cases where they are pursued by threats or violence I promise them the protection of the American flag. The recent French defeats have served to imbitter still more the feelings of the French against the Germans.

The Figaro of the 9th instant, one of the most widely circulated journals of Paris, contained an article demanding the immediate expulsion of all Germans from Paris. It proposed that all Germans who were able to pay their passage should be embarked at Havre in twenty-four hours, and that all those who had not the means of leaving should be put under lock and key, a proposition at once savage and disgraceful. That article, which was so well calculated to inspire terror, was brought to me at noon on the 9th instant. It was the day of the meeting of the Corps Législatif, and I immediately repaired thither, with the expectation of meeting my colleagues, Messrs. Kern and Okouneff, and to confer with them as to what we should do. I met them both in the diplomatic tribune, but before we left there we saw the ministry displaced and that everything was in confusion. In the state of things that existed my colleagues thought it would be impossible to see any member of the government that night, and that we should have to postpone action till the next morning. I went myself, however, to the foreign office and saw the Count Faverney, the chief of the bureau, and explained to him the situation of things, and asked that the French government should take immediate steps to secure protection to the subjects of those powers who had been placed under my protection with the assent of the government of His Majesty. He said the ministry had gone out and

that it was almost impossible to have anything done that night; but, upon my suggestion, he said he would see the prefect of police on the subject.

This whole matter having assumed a still graver aspect, my colleagues and myself called yesterday afternoon upon M. Chevereau, the new minister of the interior, to make our representations and see what the French Government proposed to do in the premises. Mr. C. was just going to the chamber, and it was impossible for him to give us an audience; but he fixed ten o'clock this morning as the time at which he would see us at the ministry of the interior. On repairing thither we found he had been called away to a meeting of a council, and that he could not have an interview with us until half past six o'clock this afternoon, and, of course, too late for me to advise you of the result by the dispatch-bag, which leaves to-night. In the mean time the report is rife that a decree is to be made, at once, expelling all Germans from Paris. I cannot, however, think such a thing can be possible; but if so, I shall communicate with you immediately by telegraph.

* * * * *

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 24.

Mr. E. B. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 254.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 12, 1870. (Received August 23, 1870.)

SIR: In the tremendous rush upon me, I have only time to send you the accompanying printed list of the new ministry. I was in hopes to have been able to give you some account of them, but it is impossible to do so to-day.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

LE NOUVEAU MINISTÈRE.

Guerre: Comte Palikao.

Intérieur: Chevereau.

Finances: Magne.

Justice: Grandperret,

Commerce: Duvernois.

Marine: Rigault de Genouilly.

Travaux: Jérôme David.

Affaires Étrangères: La Tour d'Auvergne.

Conseil d'État: Busson-Billaud.

Instruction Publique: Braine.

Le Ministère des Beaux-Arts est définitivement supprimé.

On remarquera qu'il n'est pas question du Ministère de la Maison de l'Empereur.

No. 25.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, August 12, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: The Duke de Gramont sent me a letter last night, stating that, on account of a "compromising correspondence," the

architect, the *maître d'hôtel* and two domestics, supposed to mean the *concierge* and his wife, in charge of the Prussian embassy, would be immediately expelled from France.

I went personally quite early this morning to the embassy to advise the parties what was to happen, and to tell them that I should send a person at once to take charge of the embassy when they were sent off.

I have since procured two honest young Americans from my old Congressional district in Illinois to go right into the embassy and keep charge of it, to employ an honest and faithful *concierge* and some trustworthy person to have charge of the house and furniture, and in case of any trouble or attack, to display the American flag.

I hope the Prussian Government will understand that I have done all that I can to protect their property, and that I do not presume now that it will be interfered with.

I received your letter this morning, with the inclosure, about private property here in Paris. I hope to be able to telegraph in the morning. I learn this moment, and just as the mail closes, that there is to be an order of expulsion of Germans from Paris. If so, I shall endeavor by every proper means in my power, consistent with my position, to alleviate the hardships of such a measure, and afford all possible assistance to the unfortunate persons who shall become subject to it.

I am, in great haste, very truly, your obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 26.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, August 13, 1870.

MY DEAR MR. BANCROFT: I have received your esteemed favor of the 8th instant, containing inclosure of Mr. Thile, and I immediately took the necessary steps to obtain the desired information without having recourse to official inquiry.

All merchandise of German origin at present in the Paris warehouse (of course all contraband of war excepted) falling within the category of private property is not in any danger whatsoever, so far as already-existing laws are concerned. This is the general opinion of the mercantile community here.

It is, of course, impossible to make any conjectures as to what laws may be adopted or measures taken hereafter.

I am, very truly, yours,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 27.

Mr. Washburne to Messrs. McKean.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, August 17, 1870.

GENTLEMEN: The *maître d'hôtel* of the Prussian embassy having been ordered out of France, I have to request that you will do me the favor to

take possession of and occupy the said embassy till further orders. In conjunction with the *concierge*, I wish to confide the protection of the property to you, and in case of threatened violence, you will display the American flag.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURN.

JAMES A. and JOHN H. MCKEAN,
Citizens of the United States.

No. 28.

Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Gill.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 12, 1870.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your last letter, Mr. Washburne desires me to say that the French Government is about to take new steps in reference to North Germans residing in French territory, which will probably result in the expulsion of the greater part of them. Mr. Washburne is to see the minister of the interior upon the subject this evening, and if he has anything important to communicate to you, I will write tomorrow.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

WICKHAM HOFFMAN,
Secretary of Legation.

A. G. GILL, Esq.,
United States Consul, Rheims.

No. 29.

Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Gill.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 14, 1870.

SIR: There is evidently some error in the regulations relative to the Germans at Rheims. Probably the new instructions had not reached there yesterday.

The minister of the interior has promised us to facilitate their exit in every way. The slightest sort of a pass from the United States legation or consulate—the seal, without signature, with the *visa* “*Bon pour sortir de France*”—is to be enough. We gave one hundred and seventy such yesterday.

Mr. Washburne has called the minister's attention to your letter. General Read has returned, and I presume that, with a view to uniformity in the action of the consuls in this matter, it would be well that you should correspond with him.

Very truly, yours,

WICKHAM HOFFMAN,
Secretary of Legation.

A. G. GILL, Esq.,
United States Consul, Rheims.

No. 30.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Jones.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Paris, August 15, 1870.

MY DEAR MINISTER: Please see Count d'Enzenberg, and tell him of the terrible condition of the subjects of the Grand Duke of Hesse, who are ordered to leave France.

Deprived of all labor, without money and without bread, threatened continually in their neighborhoods, and ordered to leave France, their condition is deplorable beyond description. Prussia has given me a large credit to take care of its subjects who are ordered out, and Darmstadt must do the same as soon as possible or her subjects will starve. The scenes of misery I am witnessing to-day are enough to move the strongest hearts. I am myself advancing to some subjects of Darmstadt, as I cannot resist the tears of the poor, half-starved women with their babies in their arms.

Please lose no time in this matter. I know Count d'Enzenberg will act at once and advise me.

I write in great haste to get off my mail.

Truly, yours,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. J. R. JONES.

No. 31.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, August 15, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have the notice through Mr. Jones of the credit of fifty thousand thalers. It has not come too soon. Sad scenes of misery and desolation as I have been compelled to witness to-day are enough to appal the sternest heart.

These poor honest Germans have all been thrown out of work since the declaration of war, and many of them have used up all the means they had. They are now without work, without money, without bread, threatened in their neighborhoods, and in the greatest state of terror and misery. Starving women with their little children in their arms fill my legation. Men gaunt with hunger and anxiety are awaiting with the crowd in the street. I give such persons thirty francs to get to the frontier, and I hope that will be enough for that purpose, and then the Prussian Government must take care of its children. Its response to my suggestion to have a credit to be applied to this purpose is worthy of a great nation.

I want you to communicate with the Saxon Government, and have a credit here for its subjects as early as possible.

Very truly yours, &c., &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. GEO. BANCROFT.

&c., &c., &c.

No. 32.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Jones.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 16, 1870.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: We have made arrangements to send great numbers of expelled Germans into Belgium and to Herberthal, which is on the Prussian frontier. The train carrying these people will leave Paris half past ten o'clock at night and will reach Herberthal at 2 o'clock p. m. of the next day. You should at once see the representative of the Prussian Government in Belgium and give him notice of this, so that these people can be taken care of on their arrival at Herberthal.

Very truly yours,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. J. R. JONES,

&c., &c., &c.

No. 33.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 257.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 15, 1870. (Received August 31.)

SIR: I have to-day received the dispatch of Mr. Davis, relative to the credit to be placed at my disposition by the Prussian Government in aid of their subjects expelled from France. I have also received an authoritative dispatch to the effect that 50,000 thalers will be placed to my credit for that purpose. This credit has come none too soon. Five hundred subjects of the North German Confederation have been to the legation to-day to get their passports to leave French territory. Among this number have been many persons of extreme poverty, and whose condition was in every respect most deplorable. Since the breaking out of the war no Germans have been able to get work, and the poorer classes have already exhausted the very little they had in store. They are, therefore, to-day without work, without money, without credit, without friends, without bread. Pinched with hunger, terrified by threats of violence, with no means of leaving the country, they have come to me to save them. Women with little babes in their arms, and women far gone in pregnancy, bathed in tears and filled with anguish, have come to our legation as their last hope. I feel immeasurably thankful that the liberality of the Prussian Government has enabled me to afford these poor people some relief. I gave each one 30 francs, which is enough to enable them to reach the German frontier, where I have no doubt they will be taken care of. I shall do all in my power to assuage the miseries of these people whose cruel situation must challenge the profoundest sympathy of every generous heart.

You must excuse this hastily written dispatch, finished at midnight after a day of incessant labor.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 34.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 258.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 16, 1870. (Received August 31.)

SIR: Referring to my dispatch No. 238, bearing date the 29th ultimo, I now have the honor to inclose you herewith the reply of the Duke de Gramont to my letter to him, dated the 25th ultimo, together with my rejoinder thereto.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

The Duke de Gramont to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, August 3, 1870.

SIR: I desired to answer sooner the letter which you did me honor to address me the 25th ultimo, concerning the subjects of the North German Confederation recalled to their country. The necessity of consulting with my colleague, the minister of the interior, whose province it is to organize the numerous details that relate in time of war to the residence of foreigners in France, and especially to that of the subjects of the enemy's nation, has been the only cause of this delay.

I am to-day able to make known to you the measures taken to assure the execution of the resolutions of the government, of which I notified you the 23d of July; but first permit me to examine briefly the observations so courteously presented in your letter cited above, on the line of conduct that the government of the Emperor has seen fit to adopt under existing circumstances, in relation to a certain class of German subjects resident in our territory at the time of the declaration of war.

It is not my intention to sift to the bottom the rights of belligerents toward the enemy's subjects. The principle itself, in virtue of which the government of the Emperor has acted, is not to the point. You have been pleased to recognize this; but, though admitting that in strict point of view our right is not contestable, it would seem to result from your remarks that the application that we had made of it partakes of those extreme consequences of the right of war which modern ideas and the progress of civilization disavow.

We attach too much importance to the preservation of the sympathy of the great republic which you represent not to try to correct your first impression in demonstrating that nothing in the measures adopted by the government of the Emperor is of a nature to make us incur the responsibility of a disregard of the laws of war, as they are recognized in our days.

In ancient law, as well as in ancient custom, the subjects of the enemy residing in the territory were considered as prisoners upon whom could be visited all the consequences of war.

According to the modern theory the modification of this state of things consists not in conceding to the subjects of the enemy an absolute right to leave the territory of the belligerent, but to impose upon the latter the duty of not maltreating them if it permits them to remain within its territory, and if they conduct themselves peacefully, or in case the government does not wish to keep them, to accord them a reasonable delay for leaving the country. You refer on this point to the fact that in 1798, that is to say at a moment when hostilities appeared imminent between France and the United States, it was ordered that the subjects of the enemy who desired to leave the United States were at liberty to do so.

This objection has nothing in itself decisive, because what one law has done under certain circumstances, another law can modify, if there is occasion.

As to the passage from the celebrated juris-consul, quoted in your letter, I will first observe that Kent, according to the summary of his views, belongs very much more to the class of partisans of the rigorous doctrine; it is sufficient to remind for that in opposition to the greater part of modern writers, who maintain that war constitutes a relation between the respective states alone. Kent differs from this principle, in holding that war is also a relation between individuals, and that war once declared, the subjects of one government immediately become enemies of all the subjects of the others.

It can also be said that in the passage reproduced, Kent confines himself to mentioning the opinion of Vattel without giving his own, and in calling attention in the following paragraphs to the fact that the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court of the

United States has definitively pronounced itself formally in favor of the most rigorous doctrine. (Vol. I, sec. 59.)

The most accredited German authors limit themselves to demand, as an extreme favor of the belligerents, to accord to the unsuspected and peaceful subjects of the enemy authorization to continue to reside on the territory. It is thus that Hefter, professor of the University of Berlin, after having expressed this idea, that the subjects of the enemy should obtain a suitable delay for leaving the territory, adds: "Circumstances, nevertheless, may render necessary their provisional sequestration in order to prevent their making communications and carrying news or arms to the enemy." (Le Droit International, pp. 226, 240.)

Has the government of the Emperor done anything but apply this doctrine in the most moderate manner? Has it gone beyond what the laws of legitimate defense allow? I do not think so; and I am persuaded, sir, that you will share my opinion if you will be pleased to examine in regard to whom and in what cases the measures in question have been taken. First, it has been decided in principle that all Prussian subjects whatever residing in our territory will be permitted to remain there, and there enjoy the protection that our laws grant to all foreigners who respect and submit to them.

We had no intention of adopting any other measures as regards the subjects of the enemy, when an incident, the gravity of which could not be mistaken, and to which we could not be blind without wanting in our first duties toward the country of which the defense is confided to us, occurred to awaken the attention of the minister of war.

Hardly had war been declared when we saw Prussian subjects, whose age called them to serve in the enemy's army, gather openly at the railway station, and there, obedient to a word of command, as if there had been a sort of recruitment practiced, prepare to cross the frontier.

It was then that the government of the Emperor had to ask itself whether the favors that are consistent with a state of war could go so far as to allow our enemies freely to augment their military forces at the moment when the struggle was about to commence, and if there was no means of distinguishing between inoffensive persons and those whom we were liable to meet a few days later in the ranks of the combatants.

This distinction has been made as it should be, and we have beside the consciousness of having acted within the limit of our legitimate rights in that which concerns those even to whom the prohibition of exit applies. Nothing is changed from our previous resolution under the head of the security which is accorded to them if their conduct does not furnish motives, based upon complaints, and without our having so far the idea of using against them the odious treatment inflicted upon the French recently expelled from Baden territory.

To recapitulate, the following measures have been adopted regarding German subjects:

1st. The authorization to leave France will only be accorded individually to those over forty years of age.

2d. To those above that age there will be delivered by the minister of the interior a safe-conduct, which will be retained on the frontier by the agent in charge of the surveillance.

3d. The safe-conduct being retained on the frontier, will not be submitted to the *visa* of foreign affairs. It is independent of the passports which the legation or the consulates of the United States may think proper to deliver to those interested, and those passports will not be subjected to the *visa* of the ministry of the interior nor of that of foreign affairs.

4th. In case a German subject should wish to enter or return to France, the request should be addressed direct to the ministry of foreign affairs, or by the intermediary of the diplomatic agents.

Accept the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honor of being, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

GRAMONT.

[Inclosure. 2.]

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 9, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 3d instant, in which you inform me of the decision of His Majesty's government respecting the granting permission to the subjects of the North German Confederation to quit France.

As your excellency apprises me of the decision as a definite one, it does not become

me to discuss it any longer as an open question; but inasmuch as certain observations of your excellency in regard to the action of the American Government under similar circumstances, and to the opinion of one of its leading publicists upon the points involved in discussion, seem to invite, if not to require, some further notice on my part, I beg leave very briefly to say a few words in reply to those observations. I do so chiefly because I feel confident that my government will take deep interest in the decision of the question now raised in this discussion, and because I am sure that it will be very desirous that its true position in regard to it should not be misunderstood.

Your excellency remarks, in reference to the statute of the United States of the 6th of July, 1798, which I had the honor to cite in order to show its settled practice and policy on this head, that the argument to be derived from it has "nothing decisive in it, because what one statute has ordained under certain circumstances, another statute can modify, if there is occasion so to do." In reply to this suggestion permit me to call your excellency's attention to the fact that the law in question has now stood on the statute-book of the United States for more than seventy years; that it has remained untouched and unchanged in the particular in question during the only foreign wars which the United States have had during that time, viz., with Great Britain in 1812, and with Mexico in 1847; and that if the United States were justly committed to that policy in 1798, when it had only a population of 3,000,000, mostly indigenous to the soil, it is now infinitely more pledged to it, when out of its population of 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 so large a population of her citizens are of recent emigration, and when American citizens are to be found outside of her limits in vast multitudes, at any moment that a foreign war might arise. Could your excellency believe that under such circumstances my government would give its assent to a principle, or think for a moment of repealing a law, the effect of which, if imitated by foreign nations, would be that every one of its numerous citizens in foreign parts would be liable to be detained in any hostile country, with whom the United States might happen to engage in hostilities, because all such citizens are held liable at home, as is the case, to be called on to do military duty? No! I pray your excellency to consider the statute provision referred to, tested as it has been by a long series of years, and reiterated in sentiment as it has been over and over again in numerous subsequent treaties of the United States with other powers, as rather a fundamental, organic element of American policy, than as a passing temporary ordinance which could readily yield to the slightest pressure of a change of circumstances. In this sense I beg to put it upon the same platform as the neutrality statutes of the United States, which have remained essentially the same, notwithstanding numerous grave crises, ever since their first enactment in 1793.

Your excellency is pleased to pay the compliment to the distinguished American publicist Kent, whose opinion I took the liberty to cite, to say, that in regard to another passage quoted by me he limits himself to repeating the opinion of another, without expressing his own. In regard to this statute, however, your excellency will observe that he speaks for himself of it, as "dictated by a humane and enlightened policy" (vol. 1 Commentaries, p. 58); and I understand him to extend the same commitment to English and French laws of the days of Edward III and Henry VIII of England, and the ordinance of Charles V of France, which declared at that early day that "foreign merchants who should be in France at the time of declaration of war shall have nothing to fear, for they should have liberty to depart freely with their effects."

Will your excellency also allow me to make, in regard to the passage wherein you say Chancellor Kent contents himself with citing Vattel without giving his own opinion, that the learned chancellor says (five lines earlier, page 56) in his own person that "such stipulations (as allowing foreign subjects a reasonable time after the war breaks out to recover and dispose of their effects, or to withdraw them) have now become an establishment *formula* in commercial treaties." If this should seem to be limited to the right of the foreigner to withdraw *his property* only, and not *his person*, I beg to ask if the concession of the lesser privilege does not, *a fortiori*, imply that of the greater. How can one be supposed to be able to withdraw his goods and effects [without] withdrawing himself also? Vattel, in the passage immediately following (as do most of the writers on public law which I have had an opportunity to consult), puts the two concessions upon the same common co-ordinate basis. And since your excellency has done me the honor to refer to Vattel in connection with Kent, will you permit me to call your attention to the fact that the American commentator, in quoting Vattel, fails to translate into English the full force of the Swiss publicist's *dictum*, which I beg leave to characterize as one of the most forcible as well as most accurate expressions of the sentiments which I am trying to express in behalf of my government that can anywhere be found. With your excellency's permission, I will quote the whole paragraph from the original French:

"Le souverain qui déclare la guerre ne peut retenir les sujets de l'ennemi qui se trouvent dans ses états au moment de la déclaration non plus que leurs effets; ils sont venus chez lui sur la foi publique; en leur permettant d'entrer dans ses terres et d'y séjourner il leur a promis tacitement toute liberté et toute sûreté pour le retour.

Il doit donc leur marquer un temps convenable pour se retirer avec leurs effets ; et s'ils restent au delà du terme prescrit, il est en droit de les traiter en ennemis, toutefois en ennemis des amis. Mais s'ils sont retenus par un empêchement insurmontable, par une maladie, if faut nécessairement, et par les mêmes raisons leur accorder un juste délai. Loin de manquer à ce devoir aujourd'hui on donne plus encore à l'humanité, et très souvent on accorde aux étrangers, sujets de l'état auquel on a déclaré la guerre, tout le temps de mettre ordre à leurs affaires."

These sentiments lose none of their force when it is remembered that they were uttered more than a century ago.

I will only allow myself a single further observation in regard to the judicial decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, upon which your excellency bestows a passing observation. When Chancellor Kent speaks of the "ancient and sterner rule having become definitively settled by the Supreme Court of the United States," he does not point his comment with his usual accuracy. It was only with reference to the *confiscation of property*, and not the detention of persons, that the American Supreme Court was deciding ; and it was only in reference to the formula that the learned chancellor's comment was pertinent, and what I pray your excellency to observe was that decision. The lower court (the eminent Judge Story) had decided that British property found on American territory during the war of 1812 was rightfully seized and confiscated by the United States Government, but the Supreme Court overruled this decision, and held that enemies' property was not liable to detention without a special statute of the United States Congress to that effect ; and I beg your excellency's attention to the fact that the United States never have passed any such statute of confiscation *à propos* of a foreign war, down to this day ; and that, therefore, at the present moment, by the decision of the highest American tribunal, if any such war shall hereafter break out, an enemy's property will not be liable to confiscation. As for his personal security, I beg leave to say that the belligerent stranger may fall back, with perfect security, upon the law of 1798 above commented on, and, as I believe, with perfect assurance that he will not see its repeal attempted, much less accomplished, whatever may be the pressure of a foreign war.

I trust that your excellency will see that in this more extended reply to the communication of the 3d instant than I intended, I have in view but the single point of representing, so far as I may do, without other instructions from home, the deep interest which I am confident my government will take in the decision which the Government of France feels itself constrained by circumstances to adopt in regard to North German subjects, whose interests I am permitted by the comity of His Majesty to represent and befriend.

I take the present opportunity, &c., &c., &c.

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency the DUKE DE GRAMONT,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No. 35.

Mr. Washburne to the Duke de Gramont.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 16, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR : Mr. Bancroft, the minister of the United States at Berlin, to whom I applied for information in regard to Colonel Gramont and others, writes as follows: "Telegraph after telegraph has been sent respecting Gramont and others of whom you write. As yet nothing known but that Gramont was wounded, and left behind at Worth. Every effort is making to learn more."

I am sorry Mr. Bancroft could not give more satisfactory information touching your brother, but I trust you may have such information from other sources.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,
E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency, the DUKE DE GRAMONT.

No. 36.

Mr. Washburne to the Messrs. Rothschild.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 17, 1870.

GENTLEMEN: I am advised that the Prussian Government will place at your house at my disposition a credit of fifty thousand thalers. In opening such a credit I would be glad to have it done not in my name as an individual, but in the name of "E. B. Washburne, minister of the United States, charged with the protection of the subjects of the North German Confederation in France, pending the existing war between France and Prussia."

I shall, however, sign the drafts as an individual, and in all cases where I want funds other than paper I shall so specify on the face of the drafts.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
 E. B. WASHBURN.

Messrs. ROTHSCHILD.

No. 37.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Read.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 18, 1870.

SIR: I beg leave to inclose a copy of the instructions given by the prefecture of police to their agents:

2me. dépêche du 13 d'août. Les explications que j'ai données au Corps Légitif au sujet des Prussiens, vous ont fixé sur la portée des mesures qu'il convient de leur appliquer afin de rendre encore plus facile le départ des Prussiens et Allemands dont la situation ne comporte pas des manègemens particuliers.

J'ai décidé que nul visa d'une autorité française ni sera apposé sur le passeport ou la passe qui sera délivrée par les ministres ou les consuls chargés des intérêts de ces étrangers.

You will consider yourself, therefore, authorized to give passes to subjects of the North German Confederation, and by so doing you will relieve us very much. I inclose a form of the passes we give, to which you will merely attach the stamp of your consulate.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,
 E. B. WASHBURN.

General J. MEREDITH READ,
Consul-General, Paris.

No. 38.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Schmidt.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 18, 1870.

ANTOINE SCHMIDT: You must go again and see the director of the railroad. The number of people wanting to leave is so great that if I

am to continue to send them I must have an arrangement to have the tickets at half-price.

Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, tells me he has that arrangement with the Lyons Railway, and with the Swiss railways, so far as regards the people he is sending out of the country. It is absolutely necessary for me to have the same or I must stop sending. I know that the French Government will desire the railroad to make this arrangement, and it should include the tickets already delivered to us, although, of course, we shall pay full price for tickets already delivered if they insist.

Yours,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 39.

Mr. Schmidt to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, August 18, 1870.

SIR: Immediately on receipt of your letter of to-day, I went to the director of the Northern Railroad and showed him the letter which your excellency addressed to me. His answer was that you should apply to the minister of the interior to obtain a letter from him requesting the Northern Railroad Company to agree to your request to let you have tickets at half-price to send home the poor people of the North German Confederation, as they have to leave France by order of the French Goverment.

After having reported verbally these facts, I went to the minister of the interior, and after a short explanation upon the subject I obtained the letter requested for the Northern Railroad Company to give me full power to obtain the reduction of the tickets to half-prices. I respectfully request your excellency to write a letter on the subject to the same company.

Very respectfully, I remain, your most obedient servant,

A. SCHMIDT.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States, charged
with the affairs of the North German Confederation.

No. 40.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 261.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 19, 1870.

SIR: I am to-day in receipt of a communication from the minister of foreign affairs, inclosing two official copies of the notification of the blockade of the North German coast by the French fleet. I am requested by the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to transmit this notification to my government, in order that it may communicate the information to American citizens.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Extract from the Journal Officiel de l'Empire, August 17, 1870.]

OFFICIAL PART, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Notification of the blockade of the coast of Prussia and of the German States in the North Sea.

We, the undersigned, vice-admiral commanding-in-chief the naval forces of His Majesty the Emperor of the French in the North Sea, in consideration of the state of war existing between France and Prussia, together with the states of the North German Confederation, acting in virtue of the powers belonging to us, declare that from the 15th of August, 1870, the coast of Prussia and of the North German Confederation, extending from the island of the Baltram north of the Eider, with its ports, rivers, harbors, roads, and creeks, is held in a state of effective blockade by the naval forces placed under our command, and that a delay of ten days will be granted to friendly or neutral vessels in order to finish loading and to leave the blockaded districts.

The geographical limits of this blockade are:

The meridian of 5° (five degrees) of east longitude from Paris, as far as the parallel of $54^{\circ} 5'$ (fifty-four degrees five minutes) north latitude.

The parallel as far as the longitude of $5^{\circ} 45'$ (five degrees forty-five minutes) from Paris.

Then the meridian of $5^{\circ} 45'$ (five degrees forty-five minutes) as far as the parallel of $54^{\circ} 20'$ (fifty-four degrees twenty minutes) of latitude.

And, finally, this latter parallel as far as the coast.

Steps will be taken against any vessel which may endeavor to violate the said blockade, in accordance with international law and the treaties now in force with neutral powers.

On board of the Magnanime, an iron-clad frigate of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, stationed between the English island of Heligoland and the Prussian coast.

The vice-admiral commanding-in-chief.

FOURICHON.

AUGUST 12, 1870.

No. 41.

Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Read.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 20, 1870.

GENERAL: Mr. Washburne desires that you will instruct our consuls in the different sea-ports of the empire to keep a sharp lookout for all German vessels loaded for American account which may be captured by French cruisers and brought into port. They should advise you immediately, and you will please advise Mr. Washburne.

Your attention is particularly called to the following vessels which sailed from German ports, loaded with lead for account of American owners, and bound to the United States. It is believed that they have all escaped, but the arrival of some of them out has not yet been reported.

I am, &c.,

WICKHAM HOFFMAN,
Secretary of Legation.

General READ,
Consul-General of the United States, Paris.

No. 42.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Jones.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 20, 1870.

SIR: We are sending the Germans from Paris to the German frontier at Huberthal, passing over the Belgian Railroad. The full fare, third-class, clear through, is 22 francs. The Chemin de fer du Nord here has now agreed to take half-fare, and they have requested me to apply through you to have the same reduction made by the Belgian Railroad, and they have no doubt it will be readily conceded. Will you, therefore, take immediate steps to accomplish this. The whole fare is divided as follows:

	Francs.		Francs.
French	14.85	Half French fare	7.45
Belgian	7.15	Half Belgian fare.....	3.55
	22.00		11.00

Eleven francs, which is half-fare, whole distance.

Yours, truly,

E. B. WASHBURN,

Hon. J. R. JONES,

Minister United States, Brussels.

No. 43.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Conneau.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 20, 1870.

SIR: I have been informed that some persons at St. Gratien, near Enghein les Bains, have menaced the property of Mr. Bamberg, consul-general of the North German Confederation. As the government of His Majesty the Emperor has assured me that the property of the German officials should be protected during their absence, I beg you will have the kindness to take the necessary measures to protect the property of Mr. Bamberg.

Receive, sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

E. B. WASHBURN,

*Charged with the protection of the subjects
of North Germany in France.*

Monsieur C. CONNEAU,
Prefect de Seine and Oise.

No. 44.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 266.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 22, 1870. (Received September 8.)

SIR: In my dispatch No. 253, and dated the 12th instant, I spoke of an interview which was to be had that evening by Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, Mr. Okounoff, the Russian chargé d'affaires, and myself, with

M. Chevereau, minister of the interior, on the subject of the protection of the subjects of the powers at war with France.

I will now endeavor to give you a connected narration of what has taken place in regard to this matter since the date of my dispatch above alluded to.

On the 12th instant, at 6.30 p. m., Mr. Kern, Mr. Okounoff, and myself had the interview with the minister of the interior of which I spoke in my dispatch No. 253. Between the time the interview was arranged with M. Chevereau and the time it actually took place the subject of the expulsion of the Germans from Paris had been up in the Corps Législatif, and for a full understanding of what was said and done there I send you a translation of the material part of the debate, marked No. 1, as copied from the official journal. I would call your attention to the language made use of in this debate by the minister of the interior, M. Chevereau. He speaks of all measures taken to expel [*expulser*] the foreigners in Paris. I alluded to this for the reason that Mr. Davis had requested in his telegraphic dispatch that the word "*departure*" should be substituted for the word "*expulsion*."

Calling upon M. Chevereau, at the ministry of the interior, at the appointed hour, Mr. Kern, as being the senior minister here, stated to him the subject upon which we had desired to see him, and explained our positions in the matter. M. Chevereau remarked that when he came into office he found that the preceding ministry had, in view of the circumstances at the time, adopted the policy of refusing to allow Prussians to leave France, and had made certain provisions regulating their residence. The circumstances had, however, changed, and he found himself in the face of regulations which had no longer any "*raison d'être*." The government had, therefore, determined, with the view of both relieving itself from the presence, in the heart of the capital, of some forty thousand Prussians, and at the same time for the purpose of protecting them from the excited population of Paris, to order them in the most humane mode to leave the country. He was urged to do this in order to answer the interpellations of the Corps Législatif and the general expression of public opinion as found in the journals of Paris. After a general conversation as to the effect of such action on the German population, and the hardships and misery which would result therefrom, Mr. C. said he was prepared in every way to mitigate as far as he could the harshness of the order, and that he would take pleasure in making the exceptions as numerous as possible; that any persons who could be recommended by respectable parties in their neighborhood, or who would be indorsed by the legations of Russia, the United States, and Switzerland, he would cheerfully allow to remain unmolested. At the same time, in view of the excited state of the population of Paris, he advised all who could get off to leave at once. He would endeavor to remove all difficulties in the way of departure and to make the formalities as few as possible. At my own suggestion he promised to ascertain from the prefecture of police whether it would be possible to dispense with the police *visa* of that office on the passports of Germans wishing to leave, and, in concert with the prefect, he would devise some expeditions mode by which the Germans could leave France on the simple *visa* of the different legations charged with their protection. At my further suggestion, he promised to send immediate orders to the French police agents on the frontier not to molest the Germans who had started to leave the country, even if their papers had not a proper *visa*. I then told the minister that I had received very recent information from the American consul at Rheims of the ill-treatment to which the German residents in that vicin-

ity had been subjected. He gave orders that the prefect should be immediately telegraphed to consult with the American consul there, and to afford every protection possible, and also to authorize our consul to give them passes to leave the country. In conclusion, the minister said he should be glad to place himself entirely at the disposition of the representatives of Russia, the United States, and Switzerland, with the view of aiding them in removing the difficulties which he understood must surround the position of the different peoples under their protection.

At quite an early hour the next morning Mr. Erian, one of the under secretaries of the ministry, called at the legation to state that it had been arranged with the police authorities that all of the people under my protection could leave France upon the simple *visa* of my legation, a form of which he gave.

As I stated in my dispatch No. 257, under date of the 15th instant, we have been giving these *visas* in great numbers, as well as furnishing pecuniary assistance to a smaller number in order to enable them to leave French territory.

I had the honor to receive on the 17th instant the telegraphic dispatch of Mr. Davis, containing the approval of my action in suggesting a credit to be placed at my disposition by the Prussian government to aid in removal of their poor from Paris, advising me that such a credit had been given, and instructing me to do what I could, consistent with public law and the position of our country as a neutral, to mitigate the severity of the order of "*expulsion*." I also received, the day after, the telegraphic dispatch submitting the word "*departure*" for the word "*expulsion*," which I have above alluded to.

Though I had left nothing undone in respect of the instructions contained in the telegraphic dispatch of Mr. Davis above alluded to, I lost no time in seeking an interview with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the subject. After conversing in relation to some minor matters, I told the prince that the principal object for which I had sought an interview with him had relation to the position in which I found myself as charged with the protection of the subjects of several of the powers with which France was at war. I stated that the sudden determination of the French Government in regard to the departure of the Germans from France had taken me by surprise, and I wanted to know if it were not possible for his Majesty's government to change their determination in that matter. I explained to him the great distress and hardship it inflicted on thousands of peaceable, innocent, and inoffensive men, women, and children of the laboring classes, most of whom were very poor, and who came in great crowds to our legation seeking their passes and the means of getting out of France.

The minister remarked in reply that on his way from Vienna he first heard of this matter and had conceived great doubts as to the propriety of the measure, and on his arrival at Paris had so expressed himself to the Empress Regent and to the minister of interior. He had, however, yielded his first impressions upon the representations made to him by his colleague, the minister of the interior, that this measure, harsh as it was, was dictated by the pressure of circumstances; that the government could not without great concern contemplate the fact of such vast numbers of Prussians (estimated at forty thousand) residing in their midst; and that their apprehensions had become excited by the manœuvres of certain Prussians whose presence in Paris was dangerous in the highest degree; that the French population had reached a state of excitement on the subject of the residence of so many Prussians in the

heart of the capital which rendered it unsafe for the latter, and placed the government under the obligation of requiring their departure for their own sake as a measure of humanity, and in view of their protection, that the government was perfectly willing and anxious to mitigate the hardship of their decree by making any exceptions in favor of persons recommended by the respectable citizens of the neighborhood, and especially in favor of any persons that the legation of the United States might designate as worthy of their protection. I remarked in reply to his excellency that I had received the same assurance from his colleague, the minister of the interior, who had manifested every disposition to do all in his power to mitigate the severity of the order. I told him that my position had become somewhat embarrassing, and that the difficulties, so far from diminishing, were on the increase; and that out of the mass of the Germans in Paris under my protection it was impossible for me to pass upon the separate cases of those who might desire to remain; and even if I could pass on them, yet by reason of the understanding that the order of departure was general, many unobjectionable persons, who would have been desirous of remaining in Paris and following their ordinary pursuits, considered themselves as being obliged to leave.

I said further that in carrying out the wishes and instructions of my government, I wished in the name of humanity to make an earnest appeal to the French Government, through him, to revoke the order if it should be considered possible; and if that could not be done, to so modify it as to permit the larger class of Germans in Paris to remain, whose conduct could give no possible cause of complaint to the French Government. His excellency then called my attention to the fact that the order of expulsion of all French subjects from Prussia having been issued by the Prussian Government, no complaint could, strictly speaking, be made here against the French order, but that out of consideration for my position he was willing to entertain the subject. At the same time he stated that the French order had not been made in consequence of the order of the Prussian Government as a retaliatory measure, but for the reasons he had already suggested. I then stated that I was surprised to hear him remark that the Prussian Government had made an order of expulsion against French subjects, and was hardly prepared to credit it, unless he had positive knowledge that such was the fact. In confirmation of my belief I stated that I had read a telegraphic dispatch purporting to be an extract from a Berlin paper, which, referring to the expulsion of the Germans from France, expressly declared that the French subjects would not be expelled from Prussia, but would be placed under the protection of the Prussian Government. In reply to these suggestions of my own, his excellency stated that he had no official knowledge of the Prussian order of expulsion, but that he understood the minister of interior as stating it as a fact which he had taken for granted in his discussion of the matter with him. He further remarked in this connection that he had personal knowledge of the arrest and imprisonment, under very aggravating circumstances, of French consular agents, who had sought his protection in Vienna, and whose cases were stamped with peculiar hardships. In concluding the conversation his excellency requested me to address him a written communication embodying my views on the subject, and stating that he would take great pleasure in using his influence to procure them a favorable reception, with a view, if possible, of bringing about some substantial modification of the order. In accordance with such request

I addressed his excellency a communication, a copy of which I herewith transmit, marked 2.

In continuing this narrative of events, I have the honor further to state that the question of the expulsion of the Germans having again been up in the Corps Legislatif on Thursday last, and a report having been made to that body (which was, however, referred to the minister of the interior), recommending the expulsion, *without exception and without reserve*, of all of the subjects of all the powers at war with France, Mr. Kern and myself sought another interview on the subject with Mr. Chevereau, the minister of the interior, on Friday last. Mr. C. said he was aware that the report had been made to the Chamber, but that the matter was substantially in his own hands, and that there would be no aggravation of the measures which had already been taken. Mr. Kern, for himself, as well as on my behalf, explained to the minister the situation of matters, as then existing, so far as regarded the people with whose protection we were respectively charged, and the afflicting cases of hardship and suffering which we were continually compelled to witness at our legations. M. Chevereau replied that he could fully appreciate all that was said, but that the situation was the result of circumstances which could not be controlled; that the hostility of the people of Paris toward the Prussians had become intense, and that it was a matter of the safety of these people, as well as for other reasons, that they should depart as fast as possible. As a remote possibility the government might have to consider the effect of a siege of Paris, and in that event the city would be defended to the last. In the event of a siege, though scarcely possible, the situation of the Prussians then in Paris would be deplorable beyond description; and simply as a measure of humanity, he thought they ought to leave at a time when they were able to get away and reach their own country. He expressed his determination to do everything to moderate the hostility of the Parisians toward the Germans, and to have them protected while they remained here. He also reiterated his wish to do everything in his power to facilitate their departure, and to alleviate, as far as possible, the hardships which the state of war had produced in that regard. Mr. Kern and myself both explained to him that it was impossible to make separate applications for those who wanted the permission of the government to remain in Paris, and that when people who came to us to ask our advice on the question, and who represented themselves as peaceable persons, long resident in Paris, and engaged in business which they could not leave without great sacrifices, we had advised them to remain, quietly attending to their affairs and giving no cause of complaint to the government, until they should have special notification to leave, when they should apply to us. Mr. Chevereau fully assented to that course and said there was a large class of such people whom the government had no wish to drive away. In closing the interview, Mr. Kern, in speaking for us both, said that "in making these representations in the name of the interests of the Germans whose protection is confided to us, it is well understood that the governments of the German States may urge in the future all the rights which might result from the measures taken against their subjects in France."

Such is substantially what has taken place up to this time touching the expulsion of the German population from France. I shall endeavor to keep you fully advised of what may occur in the future.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.]

Debate in the Corps Législatif on the expulsion of the Germans from France, August 12, 1870.

The question of the expulsion of subjects of the powers at war with France came up in the Corps Législatif, in the sitting of the 12th instant, in the nature of an interpellation by M. Terme. I quote from the débat as it appears in the official journal of the 13th instant:

"Mr. TERME. I demand the floor. I wish to interrogate the minister of the interior upon the measure he has taken, or proposes taking, in relation to the foreigners who belong to the powers with which we are in war, and who now reside in France. Grave facts have been signalized. They have caused considerable emotion in France. I ask that this emotion shall be calmed.

"His excellency M. HENRY CHEVEREAU, minister of the interior. Gentlemen, at the commencement of the war the government had judged it proper to prevent the Prussians from going out of France, to prevent them from joining the army of the enemy.

"M. GAMBETTA. You have violated the first law of patriotism.

"THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. The circumstances becoming grave, and the presence of foreigners proving extremely injurious to the interests of the national defense, we have raised that interdiction. Since day before yesterday we have taken all measures to expel the foreigners who are at this moment in the capital.

"M. CREMIEUX. Expel, or permit to leave?

"THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. It is well understood that is my thought. Day before yesterday twelve hundred Prussians left Paris. As many left last evening. The Corps Législatif will comprehend that it is impossible in a single day to send away twenty thousand Prussians.

"THE MARQUIS DE PIENNES. I will ask the minister of the interior to explain the word 'expel,' which he has used. It would be a serious matter, touching humanity and civilization, to drive out of France, or even out of Paris, without distinction, all persons belonging to the nations with which we are at war.

"M. EUGÈNE PELLETAN. It is evident from the remarks of the minister of the interior, that the government has committed two mistakes. The first is, not having permitted the Germans to leave when they asked to go. It was a violation of the rights of persons. The second will be to drive them out in the present circumstances, for certainly when foreigners have been placed under the protection of the American and English embassies, you should respect their rights of person, and cause them to be respected. The character of the war is serious enough without seeking to implicate those who have committed no fault.

"M. CLEMENT DUVERNOIS, minister of agriculture and commerce. The Prussians have expelled our people.

"M. EUGÈNE PELLETAN. If there are Germans at present among us who are conspiring against us, you have something else to do than expel them; you should arraign them before the councils of war; that is what justice requires, and I will say more; while I have the floor to defend the principles of civilization which should be maintained against all attacks, I will ask to put another question to the minister of the interior. There has been posted on all the walls of Paris, and in all the departments of France, a dispatch, found upon the person of a spy. I demand to know what has become of this spy; whether he has been arraigned before a council of war? We have need to know the truth concerning a fact of this nature, as it has been made use of to calumniate a great party whose patriotism is now being shown.

"THE MARQUIS DE PIENNES. The question put by my honorable colleague should be examined in a double sense. The government has the right and the duty to guard against foreigners who abuse the hospitality which they find among us. It is necessary to repress severely such tendencies; but humanity and civilization would repel the measure that would strike without distinction the Germans who have long resided among us, and who, by their industry and labor, have contributed to the grandeur and prosperity of the country.

"THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. I will answer to the honorable M. Pelletan, that it is evident and beyond question that a measure like this should be administered with discrimination, and where the persons are understood to be peaceable citizens as being so to speak, naturalized by long sojourn, by their habits and family ties, we have not the cruelty to expel them from France. I did not presume it was necessary to say this.

"M. EUGÈNE PELLETAN. I can but approve for myself the answer which the minister of the interior has made. It appeared as though the expulsion *en masse* of all the Germans residing in France was about to be made; that would evidently have been a measure contrary to the laws of nations. But if the government intends only to expel dangerous foreigners, there is no disagreement between us.

[Inclosure 2.]

*Mr. Washburne to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.
Paris, August 17, 1870.

SIR: In our conversation yesterday you did me the honor to request that I might put in writing the views I expressed to you, verbally, in relation to the departure from France of the subjects of the powers now at war with France.

Having been charged by the direction of my own government, and with the consent of the French Government, with the protection of the subjects of the confederation of the north, as well as the subjects of Hesse Grand-Ducal, Saxony, and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in France, during the war now existing between France and the said powers, I beg leave to state that before any official action had been taken by the French Government in relation to the departure from France of the said subjects, my colleagues, Mr. Kern, the minister of Switzerland, charged with the protection of the subjects of Bavaria and Baden, and Mr. Okounoff, the Russian chargé d'affaires, charged with the protection of the subjects of Würtemberg, and myself, arranged an interview with M. Chevereau, minister of the interior, for Friday last, the 12th instant, with a view of seeking such measures of protection to the Germans in Paris as the situation seemed to require; but that before that interview took place I learned of the proceedings of the Corps Législatif on that day, and of the declaration of M. Chevereau to the Chamber that "Depuis avant-hier nous prenons toutes les mesures pour expulser les étrangers qui sont en ce moment dans la capitale." Therefore, when the interview actually occurred, we found it necessary to address ourselves to the measure of expulsion which has been considered by the Chamber. With courtesy and frankness M. Chevereau explained to us the position of matters touching the Germans in Paris. After stating what had been done and the reasons which had influenced the government, he expressed every desire to ameliorate, as far as possible, the severity of the situation, and to facilitate, in every way, the departure of the subjects to whom the order was intended to apply. But after the official action taken on this subject had become known, your excellency will not be surprised to learn of the alarm and excitement it produced among the people whose protection had devolved upon me. Their number is very large. In our conversation your excellency estimated it at forty thousand, other people have placed the estimate still higher. The removal of such a population in a few days, even with all ameliorations, could not fail to carry with it an incredible amount of suffering and misery, involving, as it must, the breaking up of homes and the sacrifice and abandonment of property. As to those subjects of the powers at war with France who abuse the hospitality of the country, and who remain in it to become spies, to plot against the government, to stir up sedition, and to trouble the public peace generally, all men will be in accord with the government in punishing them and in expelling them from French territory. But their number must be small as compared with the whole number of Germans finding themselves now in Paris. From my observation, the great number seem to be composed (independently of the active business men with large affairs) of honest, industrious, laboring men and women, who have come into the country under the sanction of public faith, relying upon the hospitality and protection of the government. They are for the most part engaged in daily toil for the support of themselves and their families, taking no interest in political affairs and many of them quite ignorant of the ordinary passing events. It is upon this class of people that the action of the government falls with peculiar severity. The scenes I am compelled daily to witness are afflicting. My legation and the surrounding streets are filled every day with crowds of these people, who come to procure their passes and to beg some aid (which I had been authorized to extend in certain cases) to enable them to conform to what they understand to be the direction of the government and to leave the country. Under these circumstances, therefore, I feel that I should fail to discharge the full measure of the duty devolving upon me in this regard, and that I should be forgetful of the obligations of humanity did I not make the strongest appeal to the government of his Majesty, through your excellency, to further consider this question, and to ask that if it be not possible to suspend action altogether, that there may be at least some modification of the measures already taken so as to permit such subjects of the belligerent powers as are under my protection, who are now in France, to remain in the country so long as their conduct shall give no cause of complaint, and further to ask for them that protection which the law of nations accords to unarmed enemies. In making this appeal I but obey the wishes of my government, which has instructed me to do everything which is consistent with the position of my country as a neutral, and with the law of nations to alleviate the condition of things now existing as regards these people with whose protection I have been charged.

In closing this communication I beg leave to thank your excellency for the clear and courteous manner in which you were pleased to explain the views of his Majesty's government on the subject of our interview, and for the disposition manifested by

your excellency to soften, in that respect, as far as might be in your power, the hardships which a state of war might impose,

I take this occasion to renew to your excellency the assurances with which I have the honor to remain your excellency's very obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

No. 45.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. von Thile.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 19, 1870.

SIR: I had the honor two days ago to receive the letter of you excellency on the subject of the arrest of Mr. Schleucker, the consul of the Confederation of North Germany at Lyons.

I immediately addressed a letter to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the subject, and delivered it to him in person. As he had but just taken possession of the foreign office, he was ignorant of the facts in the case, but he promised to take information at once and advise me in the premises.

As soon as I hear from him I shall communicate with you further on the subject.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. B. WASHBURNE.

MR. VON THILE,
Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., &c.

No. 46.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, August 24, 1870.

SIR: On my being informed the 17th of this month that Mr. Schleucker, ex-consul of the North German Confederation, had been declared in bankruptcy and placed under arrest, you called my attention to his case, and expressed the desire to have a statement in regard to the measures taken concerning him.

I hasten to give you the explanation which I immediately requested from the prefet of Rhône in regard to his matter. It appears that on the 30th of last month, it having been reported that Mr. Schleucker had suspended payments, and was about to depart for Prussia, a mandate was issued by the procureur impérial. The bankruptcy was declared by the president of tribunal of commerce, but the examination of the statement presented having shown that the business of the house of Mr. Schleucker was relatively satisfactory and that the conduct of this banker gave no cause for serious apprehensions nor justified the imputations which had been made against him, he was released under bail the day following his arrest.

The prefet of the Rhône adds that Mr. Schleucker has the reputation of an honest man, but at the time of his arrest he was laboring under some financial embarrassments dating back to an earlier period, the judicial decision concerning which has not yet been rendered.

Receive, &c.,

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.

MR. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States.

No. 47.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. von Thile.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 25, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a letter I received from the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, minister of foreign affairs, in answer to my note of the 17th instant, relating to the case of Mr. Schleucker, ex-cousul of the North German Confederation at Lyons.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,
E. B. WASHBURN.

To Mr. von THILE,
Under Secretary, &c., &c., &c., Berlin.

No. 48.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Motley.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 23, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I received your cipher dispatch of yesterday at nine o'clock this morning. I deciphered it as soon as I could, and took a copy of it in person to the foreign office. The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne being absent, I delivered it to the chief of cabinet.

I have also received your letter of last evening, with the dispatches inclosed. I think we made them out correctly from the cipher.

Very truly, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. J. L. MOTLEY, &c., &c., &c.

No. 49.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 268.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 26, 1870. (Received September 8.)

I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the telegraphic dispatch of Mr. Motley in regard to the protest of Count Bismarck and the reply of the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, which carry with them their own explanation.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 23, 1870.

Copy of a telegraphic dispatch received by Mr. Washburne, minister of the United States, from Mr. Motley, United States minister at London, dated London, August 22, at 5.55 p. m., and delivered by Mr. Washburne to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, Tuesday, August 23, 1870:

"E. B. WASHBURN, United States Minister, Paris:

"At the request of Count Bernstorff, the North German representative here, I send you the following message received by him from Count Bismarck this morning."

"Please say to the American minister, Mr. Washburne, in Paris: A man carrying a

flag of truce, who arrived at the French outposts, accompanied by the ordinary trumpeter, in order to invite a proposal from surgeons in the interest of the French wounded, was fired on, on the 19th instant, by all the French advance guards he met, so that he was obliged to return, after his trumpeter had been severely wounded. We protest against this breach of the international law, and will hold France responsible for the fate of the French wounded, for whom our medical help proves insufficient.'

"Count Bismarck says to Count Bernstorff:

"I request you to say further to the American minister, Mr. Washburne, at Paris, that, according to the experience we have hitherto had, the medical staff of the imperial French troops does not wear the badge provided by the convention of Geneva, and that those badges, when worn by our medical men, are not respected by the French troops, so that constantly, at the places for bandaging, the surgeons and wounded are shot at. As the manner in which our men carrying flags of truce are treated, contrary to international law, prevents us from sending our complaints in the direct way, we have no other means than to request, herewith, the American minister to state at Paris our formal protest against a breach of that international convention."

[Inclosure 2.—Translation.]

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, August 23, 1870.

SIR: You have been kind enough to hand me, under to-day's date, copy of a telegram which has been addressed to you by Mr. Motley, at the request of Count de Bernstorff, representative of the North German Confederation at London, which has for its object to bring to the knowledge of the government of the Emperor the reclamations of Count Bismarck against the treatment on the part of our troops which may have been inflicted on flags of truce, ambulances, surgeons, and wounded.

The statements made in this telegram are too contrary to the traditions of the French army to make it possible for me to accept them as exact. I have this day made them known to the minister of war, and will hasten to communicate to you the explanations which he will not fail to give me, and which will, I doubt not, reduce to their just value the protestations of the Prussian Government.

Receive, sir, the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.

Mr. WASHBURN, United States Minister at Paris.

No. 50.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 25, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have duly received your letters of the 19th and 20th instants, the one of the 20th containing a copy of the letter of Mr. Thile to you on the subject of the use to be made of the credit placed at my disposition for the assistance of the expelled Germans. I have had but very few applications for assistance outside of the North German Confederation, except from the subjects of Hesse-Darmstadt. As I had no fund for these last-named subjects, and as their needs were pressing, I ventured to take from the Prussian fund, and in fact treating the Darmstadt subjects precisely as the subjects of the North German Confederation. At the same time, I wrote to Count d'Enzenberg, the late minister resident of Darmstadt at Paris, that he must advise his government that I was furnishing aid to the subjects of that government to enable them to leave France. I presumed it would be all right. I have kept a strict account of how much I have paid to each person. The amount already sent me will probably be more than I shall want.

I have exercised a good deal of care in furnishing assistance. I made arrangements with the railroads to take all persons I send at half-fare, third class. The arrangement we make with the parties we assist shows substantially what you suggest. We only give enough, in addition to what they may have, to enable them to reach the frontier. In reaching there they will be in a state of utter destitution, and their condition will appeal most powerfully to the generous sympathy of the Prussian Government. I have no regrets for the labors imposed upon me. I only wish I could have done more. It is a great pleasure for me to know that I have been able to do something to alleviate the sufferings and appease the anxiety of these poor people whose protection has been confided to me.

I inclose you a memorandum in regard to the remains of General Douay. All these French people will be exceedingly grateful to you for all your kindness in endeavoring to get information for them.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. GEO. BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 51.

Mr. von Thile to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

BERLIN, August 25, 1870.

SIR: According to a communication which Mr. Bancroft has made to me verbally, the French Government desires to have enter Prussia the relatives or the valets of certain prisoners of war, in order that they may not be deprived of the attention to which they have been accustomed. I hasten to inform you that no opposition is offered on our part to your giving to such persons passes or other documents proving their identity. It is hardly necessary to say that they cannot leave Prussia until after the conclusion of peace, and their correspondence will have to be submitted to the same inspection as that of the prisoners of war themselves.

Accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

THILE.

To Mr. WASHBURNE,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America, Paris.*

No. 52.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 27, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: You have done me the honor to communicate to me a translation of the letter of Mr. Thile to you, under date of the 20th instant, in which he transmits to me the thanks of the Royal Government for services I may have rendered to the subjects of the North

German Confederation expelled from France, and for bringing under my protection the hotel of the North German legation. Will you have the kindness to say to Mr. Thile that I fully appreciate the compliment, and am highly gratified to know that my conduct meets with the approval of his government. I beg further that you will say that I have brought to my work only a sincere desire to faithfully do my duty under somewhat difficult and embarrassing circumstances, and if I can only accomplish my mission in a way satisfactory to the Royal Government and to my own government, as well as in a manner acceptable to the French Government, by whose assent I am permitted to act, I shall feel that I am more than compensated for what I may have already accomplished and what I may do hereafter in this regard. I shall leave nothing undone to fully discharge all the duties properly devolving upon me.

Believe me, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 53.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. de Thile.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 27, 1870.

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, in relation to the restriction put upon the Germans expelled from France not to go by the frontier of Belgium. That restriction was at first imposed by the French Government, and a few passes were issued with such restriction. But upon a representation of the hardships and inconveniences of such a restriction, it was at once removed, and persons holding my passes were permitted to leave France for whatever country they pleased. There was no intervention whatever by the Belgian Government, but, on the other hand, the Belgian Railroad has agreed to take all the expelled Germans at half-fare, the same as the Northern Railroad of France.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your excellency's very obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Mr. THILE, Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, &c., &c., &c.

No. 54.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 30, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: You will see the sweeping character of the decree of General Trochu which I inclose herewith. It has brought, yesterday and to-day, an immense number of Germans to our legation. I took immediate steps to have the time extended for leaving, and the minister of the interior assured me that no advantage should be taken of those who could not get away in the three days. As to the exceptions to be made of those who desired permission to remain, it was agreed that applications should be made to the prefect of police. Both Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, and myself declined making any application whatever to General Trochu.

As the order covered the concierge of the Prussian legation, I went at once to see the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne in regard to a permit for him to remain. The prince said that while he could give him such a permit, and would also try and give him protection, yet in his own interest he should advise him to leave; that the fact of his being a subject of the North German Confederation might invite hostility against the legation, &c. Under such circumstances, therefore, I have thought it best to tell him he had better go away. In the excited state of feeling here, I can well see that there might be danger in his remaining. I have directed Mr. McKean, the American who occupies the hotel, to get a trustworthy man to put in his place.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 55.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 269.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 26, 1870. (Received September 8.)

SIR: We are still utterly in the dark here as to war news, and the greatest uneasiness begins to prevail among the Americans at the present time in Paris. Large numbers are leaving, not knowing what may take place. The proclamation of the governor of Paris, only placarded last night, and which I send herewith, has added to the excitement already existing. Our crowd of Germans had considerably decreased yesterday, but it is largely increased to-day on account of the proclamation of General Trochu.

I have not telegraphed you any news for several days, for I have had nothing sufficiently reliable to justify it.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

GOVERNOR OF PARIS—GENERAL ORDER.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

The governor of Paris, in consideration of the law of August 9, 1849, on the state of siege; in consideration of the decree of the 7th instant, by which Paris was declared in a state of siege; in consideration of the seventy-fifth article of the decree of the 24th December, 1811, relating to the organization and service of the local staff, which decrees: That in every place in a state of siege, if the minister or the general of the army gives the orders, or if the troops of the enemy approach within three days' march of the place, the governor or commanding officer is forthwith, and without awaiting the state of siege, invested with the necessary authority—

First. To cause the useless mouths, the strangers, and the persons designated by the civil or military police, to leave. In consideration of the law of the 9th July, 1852, relating to the removal from the department of the Seine of persons who have undergone judicial punishment, vagrants, beggars, and others addicted to practices dangerous to persons and to property—

Resolved, That, 1st. Every individual without means of subsistence, whose presence at Paris would constitute a danger to both the public order and the security of person and property, or who would give himself to actions of such a nature as to weaken or to trammel the measures for defense and for general security, is expelled from the capital. 2d. The infraction of the orders of expulsion shall be accused before the military tribunals.

GENERAL TROCHU.

PARIS, August 24, 1870.

No. 56.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 270.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 29, 1870. (Received September 14.)

SIR: The decree of General Trochu, governor of Paris, which I have the honor to send herewith, marked 1, appeared this morning in the official journal, and was placarded over the city last night. Being so sweeping in its terms and so emphatic in its declarations, it of course created a very great degree of excitement among the large number of Germans yet remaining in Paris. The legation was besieged at an early hour by a large crowd of Germans, and although I had employed as many men as could work, yet the number was nearly as great at night as it was in the morning. I felt it my duty to call and address myself to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne in regard to both articles of the decree; the first in regard to the very limited time allowed for departure, and the second in relation to the application for the special permission for "*séjour*" in Paris. In this matter I should state that I acted in concert with Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, protecting the Bavarians and the Badois, a diplomat of wisdom, experience, and energy. We saw the minister of foreign affairs separately, and who explained matters to each of us in the same way, but referring us to the minister of the interior, who was more particularly charged with the subject. Accordingly Mr. Kern and myself called on Mr. Chevereau at seven o'clock this evening. In the first place we called his attention to the short time allowed to the Germans to leave Paris, and that even if they were ready to go, it would be utterly impossible for us to furnish them with the requisite papers. In reply, Mr. Chevereau said that although three days was the time named in the proclamation, yet no advantage would be taken of those who were unable to get away within that time.

In the second place, in regard to the permission to be obtained for a sojourn in Paris, we explained to him that we could not, in our diplomatic capacity, make any application whatever to General Trochu, and that our dealings must be with the civil authorities; that if the terms of the proclamation were to be adhered to, we should be powerless to render any aid to the parties with whose protection we had been charged. I explained particularly to Mr. Chevereau the very large number of Germans under my protection who had lived for a long series of years in Paris, and had vast interests at stake; that many of those persons were connected in business with American citizens, and to compel them all to leave would be an incredible hardship, and would entail immense sacrifices. The minister replied very promptly that that question had been just considered by the government, and that our applications could be addressed to the prefect of the police, who had been charged specially with the whole business. He told us to make applications for whoever we pleased, and that they would be considered without any delay, and that whenever we submitted an application of any party for permission to remain in Paris we might consider it as granted unless we had special notice of its rejection.

I have the honor to send you further a notice which appears in this morning's *Journal Officiel*, and marked 2. It is an invitation to all persons in Paris who are not in a condition "*de faire face à l'ennemi*" to leave Paris. In my interview to day with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne I asked him about this notice. He replied that while it was not to be construed as an *order* which would oblige Americans to

leave, yet under existing circumstances he thought it would be well for me to recommend my countrymen to get away as soon as they could, in their own interests. Everything shows that the French Government look upon a siege of Paris as probable, for it is making the most stupendous preparation in that direction. I have telegraphed you to that effect to-day in cipher, and also, looking to possibilities, I suggested whether you should not ask the Prussian Government to protect American property in Paris, in the event its army reached here. I need not tell you there is a very large amount of property owned by Americans in Paris, and I hope it will be respected by both sides as property of neutrals.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

The governor of Paris in view of the law of August 9, 1849, on the state of siege ; in view of the imperial decree of August 7, 1870, by which Paris and the department of the Seine are declared in a state of siege ; in view of article 75 of the decree of December 24, 1811, which invested the governor of a place, in a state of war, with the necessary authority to expel strangers ; in view of the laws of November 18, 20, and December 3, 1869, relating to measures of police applicable to strangers ; considering that in the interest of the national defense, and also in order to guarantee the security of persons belonging, by their nationality, to the countries at war with France, it is necessary to remove strangers—decrees as follows :

ARTICLE 1. Every person not a naturalized Frenchman, and belonging to a country actually at war with France, must leave Paris and the department of the Seine before the expiration of three days, and leave France or retire into one of the departments situated beyond the Loire.

ART. 2. Every foreigner coming within the provisions of the preceding injunction who shall not have conformed to it, and shall not have obtained a special permission to remain, emanating from the governor of Paris, will be arrested and delivered to the military tribunals to be judged according to law.

The governor of Paris, TROCHU.

PARIS, August 28, 1870.

[Inclosure 2.]

NOTICE.

Considerable reserves destined for provisioning Paris have been made under the care of the administration. They increase every day. The prefect of the Seine thinks it his duty to request the inhabitants to provide themselves in advance, according to the measure of their wants and resources, with the different kinds of food capable of preservation and lasting.

The interest of the defense, even more than that of subsistence, requires that persons incapable of withstanding the enemy should remove themselves from Paris.

The counselor of state, general secretary performing the functions of prefect, ALFRED BLANCHE.

No. 57.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 272.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 31, 1870. (Received September 15.)

SIR : Referring to my dispatch No. 261, of August 17, I have the honor to inclose you an extract from the official journals, fixing the date of the commencement of the blockade of the North German coast at the 19th instead of the 15th of August.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

[Extract from the Journal Officiel of August 30, 1870.]

The notification inserted in the Journal Officiel of the 25th of August relative to the blockade of the coast of the confederation of North Germany in the Baltic, has erroneously fixed the 15th of August as the commencement of the blockade. It is only from the 19th of August that the blockade has been really effectual.

No. 58.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Motley.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 1, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: By the mail of last night from London, I received your note of the 30th ultimo inclosing the dispatch of Count Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.

Please say to the latter that I have this morning transmitted the dispatch to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, with a *note verbale*.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. JOHN L. MOTLEY,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 59.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 274.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 2, 1870. (Received September 15.)

I have the honor to inclose you herewith copies of telegraphic dispatches from Count Bismarck to Count Bernstorff, sent to me by Mr. Motley, to be by me transmitted to the French Government, together with my notes accompanying the same.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

Mr. Washburne to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 28, 1870.

Mr. Washburne, minister of the United States, presents his respectful compliments to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, and begs leave to inclose him herewith copies of two dispatches which have just been transmitted to him by Mr. Motley, the minister of the United States at London, and which explain themselves.

Count Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.

Palikao declares in the Corps Législatif that franc-tireurs must be considered as soldiers. I beg you will communicate the following to Mr. Washburne:

Only persons recognizable as soldiers at rifle-range can be considered and treated as such. Blue blouse is general national costume; the red cross on the arm is only to be discerned at a short distance, and can at every moment be removed and replaced; so that it becomes impossible for our troops to know the persons from whom they may expect hostilities and at whom they have to shoot. If persons who are not always, and at the necessary distance, recognizable as soldiers, kill or wound German soldiers, we can only have them tried by a court-martial.

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.

Count Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.

Please announce once more to Mr. Washburne that Captain Rochous, who was sent by General Alvensleben to Toul with a flag of truce, has been repulsed by successive shots, and that a trumpeter accompanying, yesterday, another flag of truce to Verdun has been killed. We protest solemnly against these repeated violations of international law, and declare that we shall be henceforth in the impossibility of sending flags of truce to the French army.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 1, 1870.

Mr. Washburne, minister of the United States, presents his respectful compliments to his excellency the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, minister of foreign affairs, and begs to inclose him a dispatch, which he has just received from Mr. Motley, the minister of the United States in London, and which explains itself.

Count Bismarck to Count Bernstorff.

CLERMONT, August 29, 1870.

Will you kindly let the following be known to Mr. Washburne, which only now comes to my knowledge.

On the 15th instant General Von Bothmer sent Captain Hanfstangel with a flag of truce to the commandant of the Fortress Mucal. The surrender of the fortress was refused. Before the captain was out of shot's range he was shot at from the fortress, and was severely wounded. This is the fourth case of breach of international law coming to our knowledge.

No. 60.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 275.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 2, 1870. (Received September 15.)

* * * * *

The greater part of the German population has left the city.

This legation has viséd passports and given safe-conducts for very nearly thirty thousand persons, subjects of the North German Confederation, expelled from France. We have given railroad-tickets to the Prussian frontier for eight thousand of these people, as well as small amounts of money to a much smaller number. From this statement you can form somewhat of an estimate of the amount of labor we have performed for the last few weeks, and the extra force I have had to employ to accomplish it. I shall, however, have the honor of writing you more fully on this subject at a future time.

My time is now a good deal taken up in looking after Germans who have been arrested and thrown into prison. The number is very great. My applications are promptly attended to, and thus far every man has been released for whom I have applied.

* * * * *

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 61.

[Telegram.]

*Mr. Washburne to Mr. Glasgow.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 3, 1870.

Send all very needy Germans to me at Paris, with a note of protection given to each one. Pay fare third class—half fare if possible—same as other roads take them for, and give a few francs to each very poor person. I send them direct to Germany. No authority to send to England.

WASHBURN.

GLASGOW,
Consul, Havre.

No. 62.

[Telegram.]

*Mr. Washburne to Mr. Glasgow.*PARIS, *September 5, 1870.*

Pay lowest class passage of each destitute German to England. Give each person a few francs. Telegraph me how many persons you send and to what place, in order that I may advise Prussian minister at London.

WASHBURN.

GLASGOW,
Consul, Havre.

No. 63.

*Mr. Washburne to Mr. von Thile.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 3, 1870.

SIR: Referring to my letter to you of the 31st ultimo, in relation to the case of Mr. Stahr, consul at Lille, I now have the honor to state that, in view of the large interests of Mr. S., I thought proper to send a special messenger to look after them.

I therefore applied to Mr. Chevreau, the minister of the interior, and explained the matter to him and told him what I proposed to do. He at once gave my messenger, Mr. McKean, an American gentleman, a letter of introduction to the prefect.

The report of Mr. McKean to me I send herewith. Mr. Stahr will be glad to know that his property and affairs are in as good condition as they well can be under the circumstances.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

M. VON THILE,
Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, &c.

No. 64.

Mr. von Thile to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

BERLIN, September 8, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the 3d of this month, by which you kindly informed me of the condition of the affairs of Mr. Stahr, consul of Grand Ducal Saxony, at Lille. It appears, to my great satisfaction, that up to this time the property of Mr. Stahr has not been injured, and that measures have been taken to secure it, as far as possible, from danger. I have not delayed communicating this reassuring news to Mr. Stahr, that he may know all that you have kindly done for him, and that he may be able to make such arrangements as the state of things shall seem to him to require.

As to myself, there only remains the very agreeable duty of expressing to you the lively sense of gratitude I feel for the kind manner in which you have charged yourself with the interests of a subject of the North German Confederation, and the special care with which you have protected them.

It is with these sentiments, sir, that I seize this occasion to repeat to you the assurance of my high consideration.

THILE.

Mr. WASHBURN,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America, Paris.*

No. 65.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 9, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have yours, sending back the letter which was addressed to Captain Labord. Be assured that your great kindness in all these sad matters is fully appreciated.

In my last I spoke of my unofficial interview with Gambetta to get the Germans released from prison. The order was given to that end the next day, and I have since been busy in getting the poor creatures away. I think now they are nearly all off.

The military order of Trochu was an absolute expulsion. I know you rejoice with me at the overthrow of the dynasty and the proclamation of the republic in France. I pray now for an early peace, honorable and just to both countries.

Very truly, yours,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEO. BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 66.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

SEPTEMBER 3, 1870.

FISH, Washington :

McMahon totally defeated. Capture of Sedan. Defeat of Bazaine before Metz. In Chamber Favre considered present government extinct; proposed military dictator. Unofficial dispatch to foreign minister that Emperor prisoner; another reports him escaped to Belgium.

WASHBURN.

No. 67.

Mr. Washburne to the civil and military authorities of the North German Confederation.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, September 4, 1870.

This is to request that full permission may be granted to Madame MacMahon, the wife of Marshal MacMahon, and to the Vicomte de Caraman, the brother of Madame MacMahon, and the Sister of Charity Madeleine, to pass all the military lines, in order to visit the marshal, and to express a hope that all proper facilities may be granted to accomplish this end.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of this legation at Paris, this 4th day of September, 1870.

E. B. WASHBURN, &c., &c., &c.

No. 68.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

SEPTEMBER 5, 1870. (Received September 5.)

FISH, Washington :

Chamber met at midnight. Favre proposed dethronement of dynasty. Provisional government to be appointed by Chamber, and that the war shall be continued.

WASHBURN, Paris.

No. 69.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

September 5, 1870. (Received September 5.)

FISH, Washington :

Republic proclaimed from Hôtel de Ville. People still hold possession Chambers. Deputies Favre, Gambetta, Simon, Picard, and others, provisional government. Rochefort liberated by people.

WASHBURN, Paris.

No. 70.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

September 5, 1870. (Received September 5.)

FISH, Washington:

Republic proclaimed. Government of national defense announced this morning composed of deputies of Paris. Favre, minister of foreign affairs; Gambetta, interior; Picard, finance; Simon, public instruction; Crémieux, justice; Kératry, prefect of police; Arago, prefect of Seine; Glais-Bizon, director of telegraphs; Trochu, governor of Paris and minister of war. Paris quiet. Instruct me.

WASHBURN.

No. 71.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

September 5, 1870. (Received September 7.)

FISH, Washington:

New government fully installed. Trochu President. Paris tranquil.
WASHBURN, Paris.

No. 72.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 276.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September, 5 1870. (Received September 20.)

SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing you my last dispatch (No. 275) events have marched with gigantic strides. The news of the full extent of the catastrophe which befell the army of McMahon was not made public in Paris until about midnight on Saturday night last, though Palikao had, during the evening in the Chamber, given out news enough to prepare the people for almost anything.

In view of the emergency which had arisen, a session of the Corps Législatif was called for midnight on Saturday night, but the president did not take his chair until one o'clock on Sunday morning. The sitting is represented as having been solemn and agitated. M. Schneider came into the Chamber without the beating of the drum, which ordinarily announces his entry. The silence was death-like; but few of the deputies of the right were in their seats, though the members of the left were almost all present. The floor was assigned to M. Palikao, the minister of war, who said that, in the presence of the serious news which had been received, he deemed it better not to take any action at that time, but to postpone everything until twelve o'clock of that day—it was now Sunday morning. Jules Favre then rose and said that he should not propose any serious opposition to that motion, but he would ask leave to give notice of a proposition which he had to submit, and

which he would discuss at the meeting at twelve o'clock. The proposition was as follows :

1. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his dynasty are declared fallen from the powers which the constitution had confided to them.
2. There shall be named by the legislative body a commission vested with powers and composed of * * *. You will designate yourself the number of members who shall compose this commission, who will make it their first duty to repel the invasion and drive the enemy from the territory.
3. M. Trochu shall be maintained in his functions of governor-general of the city of Paris.

After a session of ten minutes only the Chamber adjourned.

As this sitting of Sunday was likely to become historic, I went early to the Chamber. I found but a few troops stationed in the neighborhood, and there was not a large number of people in the vicinity. Indeed, I was quite surprised at the tranquillity which seemed everywhere to reign in the quarter of the Palais Bourbon, which is the name of the building occupied by the Corps Législatif. Taking my seat in the diplomatic tribune at quarter before twelve, there was not a single person in the hall of the deputies, though the galleries were all well filled. Instead of the session opening at noon, it was precisely one o'clock when M. Schneider entered and took the chair of the presidency. The deputies then came rapidly into the hall. Count Palikao was the first of the ministers to come in, and he was soon followed by the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, Chevereau, and Brame. All the other ministers took their places on the ministerial benches soon after. The members of the left came in almost simultaneously, Gambetta hurrying along among the first, haggard with excitement. The venerable Raspail takes his seat. Garnier-Pagès hurries across the area in front of the president's chair in a state of intense agitation. Arago, Simon, Picard, Ferry, Estanchiu-Guyot-Montpayvon enter and take their seats. Thiers, the little brisk and vigorous old man, walks quietly to his place. * * * And now the president sits in his chair without calling the Chamber to order, the members become impatient and clamorous; there is loud talk and violent gesticulation. At precisely twenty minutes after one o'clock M. Schneider swings his bell, and the gruff voice of the huissier is heard above the din, "*Silence, messieurs! s'il vous plaît.*" After some unimportant proceedings the floor is assigned to M. Palikao, the minister of war, who proposes the following project of law:

ART. 1. A council of government and of national defense is instituted. This council is composed of five members. Each member of this council is named by the absolute majority of the Corps Législatif.

2. The ministers are named under the countersign of the members of this council.

3. The General Count Palikao is named lieutenant-general of this council.

Done in a council of ministers the 4th of September, 1870.

For the Emperor, and in virtue of the powers which he has confided to us.

EUGÉNIE.

M. Thiers then submitted another proposition, as follows :

Considering the circumstances, the Chamber names a commission of government and national defense. A "constituante" will be convoked as soon as the circumstances will allow.

The proposition of Favre being already before the Chamber, "urgency" was voted on these three propositions, and they were sent to a committee for examination under the rules of the Chamber. At 1.40 o'clock the sitting was suspended to await the report of the committee, and all the members immediately left the hall. As it was supposed that the sitting would not be resumed for an hour or more, I left the diplomatic gallery and descended into the court of the building facing upon the

street which runs parallel with the Seine. Here I found a good many people who had been admitted by virtue of tickets. The street in front of the building had been kept quite clear by the military, though there was an enormous multitude of the national guard and the people on the Place de la Concorde, on the opposite side of the river. The Pont de la Concorde seemed to be sufficiently guarded by the military to prevent their crossing over. All at once I saw quite a number of people on the steps of the Palais Bourbon, and soon they commenced to raise loud cries of "*Vive la république!*" "*Déchéance!*" "*Vive la France!*" At this moment I was called away by the messenger of the legation, who brought me an urgent message from Madame McMahon, who wanted a safe-conduct from me, to enable her to pass the Prussian lines to visit her wounded husband at Sedan. In company with Mr. Eustis I stepped into an antechamber to prepare the proper document, and had but just taken my seat at a table to write, when the cry was raised that the people had invaded the building. It seemed but a moment before they were passing into the part where I was. It being impossible to finish the requisite paper, under these circumstances, Mr. Eustis and myself made our way into the court-yard. There was presented a most extraordinary spectacle. A part of a regiment of the line had been brought hurriedly into the yard, had formed across it, and were loading their muskets. Behind them and in the street, and rushing through the gates and up the front steps of the building, was a vast mass of excited people and the national guard, who had fraternized—the guards having their muskets butt-end upward as a token of friendship. There was evidently collusion between the people who were on the steps of the Palais Bourbon and the people and National Guards in the Place de la Concorde, on the other side of the river, for it was upon the signal of the people on the steps that the guard and the people broke through the military force that was holding the bridge. As the crowd mounted the steps of the Palais Bourbon it was received with terrific cheers and with shouts of "*Vive la république!*" and "*Déchéance!*"

Making our way into the street, Mr. Eustis and myself managed to pass through the crowd and to reach the building of the Agricultural Club, in the immediate neighborhood, and from the balcony of which we could see all that was going on. And now the soldiers of the guard, many of them with their hats on the ends of their muskets, accompanied by an indiscriminate mass of men, women, and children, poured over the Pont de la Concorde and filled the entire space, all, in one grand fraternization, singing the Marseillaise and shouting, "*Vive la république!*" The Municipal Guard, with its shining helmets and brilliant uniforms, was forced back, inch by inch, before the people, until, finally, all military authority became utterly powerless. During this time the National Guard and the people had invaded the Hall of the Deputies, which they found vacant. M. Schneider and about a dozen of the members rushed in. The president in vain made appeals for order, and finally covered himself by putting on his hat, according to immemorable usage of the French assemblies under such circumstances. Gambetta addressed a few energetic words to the invaders, and, a little order being restored, quite a number of deputies entered the hall. But at three o'clock irruption into the Chamber took place. Jules Favre then ascended the tribune and was listened to for a moment. "Let there be no scenes of violence," he said; "let us reserve our arms for the enemy, and fight to the last; at this moment union is necessary, and for that reason we do not proclaim the republic." The president now left his seat, and, as it turns out, for the last time. The irruption into the

Chamber continued. The floor and the seats of the deputies, on which a few members of the left only remained, were filled with a motley crowd in blouses and in coarse woolen shirts, or in the uniform of the National Guard or the Guard Mobile. They wore caps and kepis of all colors and shapes, and carried muskets with their muzzles ornamented with sprigs of green leaves. The tumult became indescribable, and some of the invaders seized on the pens and paper of the deputies and commenced writing letters; while different persons were going up to the president's chair and ringing his bell continually. The crowd in the hall now demanded *déchéance* of the Emperor, which was declared, and then it was proposed to go to the Hôtel de Ville and proclaim the republic. The cry was therefore raised, "À l'Hôtel de Ville," mingled with other cries, "*Cherchez Rochefort*," &c., and then this vast multitude commenced moving away from the Palais Bourbon.

The crowd having soon sufficiently dispersed, we were enabled to make our way back again to the Corps Législatif, and to enter again the diplomatic tribune. The hall was filled with dust, and a rough-looking man was in the president's chair, surrounded by a number of men still more rough in appearance. The soldiers and the people were occupying the seats of the deputies, writing letters, looking over documents, and talking and laughing, all in the best humor. In the hall at this time I recognized Garnier-Pagès, Raspail, and a few other members of the left.

Leaving the Chamber, we went at once to the Hôtel de Ville. The number of the people assembled there was enormous, and the same fraternization existed between them and the National Guard as elsewhere.

The building had been invaded by the people, and all the windows fronting on the square were filled with rough and dirty-looking men and boys. Soon a terrific shout went up; Rochefort was being drawn in a cab by the multitude through the crowd. He was ghastly pale; he stood up in the vehicle, covered with sashes of red, white, and blue, and waving his hat in answer to the acclamations. As he was hauled slowly through the multitude to the main door of the Hôtel de Ville, the delirium seemed to have reached its height, and such frantic acclamations I never before heard. At precisely four o'clock and forty-five minutes in the afternoon, by the great clock in the tower of the Hôtel de Ville, at one of the windows appeared Gambetta; a little behind him stood Jules Favre and Emmanuel Arajo; and then and there, on that historic spot, Gambetta proclaimed the republic.

This proclamation was received by every possible demonstration of enthusiasm. Lists were then thrown out of the window containing the names of the members of the provisional government. Ten minutes afterward Raspail and Rochefort appeared at another window and embraced each other, while the crowd loudly applauded them. During this time the public were occupying the Tuilleries. Sixty thousand human beings had rolled toward the palace, completely leveling all obstacles; the vestibule was invaded, and in the court-yard, on the side of the Place du Carrousel, were to be seen soldiers of every arm, who, in the presence of the people, removed the cartridges from their guns, and who were greeted by cries, "Long live the nation!" "Down with the Bonapartes!" "To Berlin!" &c. During all this time there was no pillage, no havoc, no destruction of property, and the crowd soon retired, leaving the palace under the protection of the National Guard. At the Hôtel de Ville some little damage was done, but nothing to any great extent. Some discussion was raised about the changing of the flag, but Gambetta declared that the tri-color was the flag of 1792 and '93, and that under it France had been and would yet be led to victory.

From the Hôtel de Ville we went back to the Chamber of Deputies, to find it still in possession of the people. From there I returned to my legation, which I reached at 6.30 o'clock. At 8 o'clock I returned to the Corps Législatif, but on my arrival there I found everything closed and the lights extinguished. The doors leading to the hall of the Deputies had been shut, and seals put upon them. I then drove through some parts of the city, and found everything remarkably quiet. The day had been pleasant, and the night was beautiful beyond description. After making a call upon Lord Lyons, I returned to my lodgings to ponder over the events of the day to become memorable in history. In a few brief hours of a Sabbath day I had seen a dynasty fall and a republic proclaimed, and all without the shedding of one drop of blood.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 73.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 283.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 9, 1870. (Received September 22.)

SIR:

* * * * *

I telegraphed you of the results and condition of things here on Monday, and asked for instructions, though not doubting what would be the prompt action of our government. I received replies from Mr. Davis Wednesday morning. It was only Tuesday night that I received the official notice from M. Jules Favre of the change of the government, and advising me that the department of foreign affairs had been confided to him. The next morning (Wednesday) I sent a verbal message to the foreign office to ascertain when it would be agreeable for the minister to receive me, as I had an important communication to make from my government. I received a reply that the minister would see me at any time between 2 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time I prepared the letter to M. Jules Favre which I send herewith, marked No. 1, and at 2.30 p. m., accompanied by the first secretary of legation, Colonel Wickham Hoffman, I took it in person to him. He received us with the utmost cordiality. After reading my letter he shook me very warmly by the hand, and thanked me for the communication, saying he would be very glad if I would telegraph to my government to express his gratitude and profound emotions. He then briefly explained the situation in which the government of the national defense found itself. He said that he was aware that the United States had hitherto refrained from taking any part whatever in the complications of European governments; however, he did not know but, under present circumstances, it might feel like tendering its good offices, and he wished to know if I should feel myself at liberty to take any action in that direction. I replied that I should not feel authorized to act in so grave a crisis without instructions from my government, particularly as I could advise with it on the subject by telegraph. On my return to the legation I telegraphed to you as follows, part of the dispatch being in cipher:

PARIS, September 7, 1870.

Have recognized republic. Favre expressed gratitude and profound emotion. Requests United States to join other powers in intervention for peace. Hopes I may be instructed immediately.

About 2 o'clock p. m. yesterday M. Jules Favre called upon me in person to thank my government in the name of that of the national defense, as well as in his own behalf, for its prompt recognition of the republic and the tender of its felicitations. He again desired that I should transmit to the President and Cabinet at Washington the profound acknowledgments of the government of the national defense. I then communicated the dispatch of Mr. Davis in relation to his conversation with M. Berthemy, which I had just received. M. Favre smiled at the allusion to the attempt of the Emperor to found a monarchy on the southern borders, and replied that nothing could be more satisfactory than Mr. Davis's telegram; it was all they could desire. He then said he had answered my letter of the day before, and that it could be sent to me in the course of the afternoon. It was duly received, and I have the honor to send herewith a copy of it in the original French, together with a translation thereof.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Favre.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 7, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to state that your communication of the 5th instant was received at this legation at 11 o'clock last night, in which you inform me that the government of the national defense has, by a resolution of its members, confided to you the department of foreign affairs.

It affords me great pleasure to advise you that I have this morning received a telegraphic dispatch from my government instructing me to recognize the government of the national defense as the *government of France*.

I am, therefore, ready to put myself in communication with that government, and, under your permission, to transact all such business as may properly appertain to the functions with which I am charged.

In making this communication to your excellency I beg to tender to yourself and to the members of the government of the national defense the felicitations of the government and the people of the United States. They will have learned with enthusiasm of the proclamation of a *republic in France*, accomplished without the shedding of one drop of blood, and they will associate themselves in heart and sympathy with that great movement, confident in the hope of the most beneficial results to the French people and to mankind.

Enjoying the untold and immeasurable blessings of a republican form of government for nearly a century, the people of the United States can but regard with profoundest interest the efforts of the French people, to whom they are bound by the ties of a traditional friendship, to obtain such free institutions as will secure to them and to their posterity the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In conclusion, I desire to say to your excellency that I congratulate myself that I am to hold relations with the government of the national defense through a gentleman so distinguished as your excellency, and one so well known in my own country for his high character and his long and devoted services in the cause of human liberty and free government.

I take this occasion to assure your excellency that I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency JULES FAVRE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[Inclosure 2.—Translation.]

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, September 8, 1870.

SIR: I look upon it as a happy augury for the French Republic that it has received as its first diplomatic support the recognition of the Government of the United States.

S. Ex. 24—5

No one can better remind us in words, both just and noble, of the inappreciable benefits of a republican government than the representative of a people which has given to the world the salutary example of absolute liberty.

You have founded your wise and powerful institutions upon independence and upon civic virtue, and notwithstanding the terrible trials sustained by you, you have preserved with an unshaken firmness your faith in that grand principle of liberty, from which naturally spring dignity, morality, and prosperity.

Nations, masters of their own destinies, should strive to follow in your footsteps. They cannot be truly free unless they are devoted, fearless, moderate; taking for their watchword the love of labor and respect for the right of all. This is the programme of the new-born Government of France, springing from the painful crisis provoked by the follies of despotism, but at the hour of its birth it can have no other thought than to save the country from the enemy. Here, too, it meets the example of your courage and your perseverance.

You have sustained a gigantic contest, and you have conquered. Strong in the justice of our cause, rejecting all lust of conquest, desiring only our independence and our liberty, we have firm hope of success. In the accomplishment of this task we count on the aid of all men of heart, and of all governments interested in the triumph of peace. The adhesion of the Cabinet of Washington would alone give us this confidence. The members of the government beg me to communicate to you all their gratitude for it, and to request you to transmit its expression to your government.

For my part I am happy and proud that fortune has permitted me to be the link of union between two peoples bound together by so many glorious memories, and henceforward by so many noble hopes, and I thank you for having, with so great kindness toward myself, expressed all which I feel toward you, as well as my desire to strengthen more and more the relations of affectionate esteem which should unite us forever.

Accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your humble and obedient servant,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States.

No. 74.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 284.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 9, 1870. (Received September 22, 1870.)

SIR: At about 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon a large crowd of French people came to the legation, bearing the French and American flags, repeating the cries, "Vive l'Amérique!" "Vive la France!" A delegation, composed of very respectable gentlemen, waited upon me in my private room and read a short address, begging that I would transmit to my government the thanks of a great number of French citizens for the promptness and cordiality with which it had recognized the French republic. I beg to transmit you a copy of the address to me and my response.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Translation.]

LEGATION DES ETAT UNIS,
Paris, le 8 Septembre, 1870—4 p. m.

We come in the name of a large number of French citizens, certain that we shall be approved and followed by the whole nation, to beg you to present our thanks to your government for the spontaneity with which it answered to the notification of our French republic. To you, sir, reverts a large part of our thanks for the gracious words which your heart dictated in communicating to us the recognition by your government. The French people will long remember the excellent words of the American minister. We did not expect less of this great and generous nation, whose aspirations and principles have always been in communion with the ideas of France. America and France are

sisters, sisters as republics, that is to say, sisters in liberty. The ocean which separates us is less deep than the sentiments which unite us.

GENTLEMEN: On behalf of my government I thank you for this demonstration. I shall take pleasure in transmitting the thanks which you have so eloquently expressed for the action which the Government of the United States has taken in recognizing the new republic of France. In my communication, to which you so kindly allude, I only expressed the sentiments of the President and of the people of the United States. The American people feel the greatest interest in the grand movement which has just been inaugurated in France, and will indulge in the most fervent wishes for its success, and for the happiness and prosperity of the French people. Living themselves under a republican form of government, they know how to appreciate its blessings, and today, with warm hearts and eloquent words, they felicitate their ancient ally in the accomplishment of that peaceful and bloodless revolution which must challenge the profound interest of all lovers of liberty throughout the world.

No. 75.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 285.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 9, 1870. (Received September 22.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose you herewith the proclamation of the government of the national defense, together with certain decrees issued yesterday, and appearing in the official journal this morning. You will perceive that an election is ordered for the 16th proximo for members of a national constituent assembly, to consist of one hundred and fifty delegates.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Translation.]

The Government of the national defense to the French people:

FRENCHMEN: In proclaiming, four days since, the government of the national defense, we have ourselves defined our mission. Power lay prostrate; that which commenced by an attempt finished by a desertion. We have only picked up the government which escaped from impotent hands. But Europe needs to be enlightened; she needs to know, by irrefutable proof, that the country is with us. The invader must encounter upon his route not only the obstacle of an immense city resolved to perish rather than surrender, but a whole people, moreover, organized, represented, an assembly, in fine, which can carry into every place, in spite of every disaster, the living soul of the country. Therefore, the government of the national defense decrees—

ARTICLE I. The electoral colleges are convoked for Sunday, the 16th of October, in order to elect a constituent national assembly.

ARTICLE II. The elections will take place on the revision of the list, conformably to the law of the 15th of March, 1849.

ARTICLE III. The number of the members of the constituent assembly will be seven hundred.

ARTICLE IV. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of this decree.

Done at the Hotel de Ville of Paris, the 8th of September, 1870.

General TROCHU.	GARNIER-PAGES.
EMMANUEL ARAGO.	GLAIS-BIZOIN.
CRÉMIEUX.	PELLETAN.
JULES FAVRE.	E. PICARD.
JULES FERRY.	ROCHEFORT.
GAMBETTA.	JULES SIMON.

The minister of war, General LE FLO.

The minister *ad interim* of marine and the colonies,

Rear-Admiral DE DOMP PIERRE D'HORNOY.

The minister of agriculture and commerce, M. MAGNIN, former deputy.

The minister of public works, M. DORIAN.

No. 76.

*Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 16, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: After great exertions, I have at last got away all the expelled Germans with the exception of the sick, and occasionally a stray child. I have still some funds to meet emergencies.

I send this via London and it may perhaps be the last letter I may be able to send for some time. I see they telegraph all sorts of things from Berlin, with which your name is connected, and it may be so from here. I see the newspapers are putting all sorts of things into my mouth, which I have never uttered, but there is no use in attempting to deny them.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. GEO. BANCROFT, &c., &c., &c.

No. 77.

*Mr. Washburne to Mr. Motley.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 10, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have your note of yesterday.

As soon as the regular communication between the two cities is interrupted, I shall arrange with Mr. Stevens, our dispatch agent in London, in regard to communicating with me, and when you have anything to send you will please send to him.

I felt very much obliged to you for the dispatches you were kind enough to send me. Whenever you have anything in the future which is important, and which we are not likely to have here, I will thank you to communicate by telegraph.

Of course you keep fully posted in regard to the wonderful events here. The peace and tranquillity of Paris is wonderful. But the Prussians advance, and what next?

Very truly, your friend,

E. B. WASHBURN.

Hon. J. L. MOTLEY, &c., &c., &c.

No. 78.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

PARIS, September 12, 1870. (Received September 12, 1870.)

Government requests me to use my good offices, unofficially, and simply as a citizen, to hold intercourse with Prussian government. Have declined until I can hear from you. Immediate answer important.

I have, &c.,

WASHBURN.

No. 79.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 286.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 13, 1870. (Received September 29.)

SIR: Late on Sunday evening last a gentleman, having intimate relations with the government of the national defense, called upon me at my residence to know if I would not unofficially, and simply as a private individual, put myself in communication with the Prussian government, for the purpose of ascertaining its views in regard to peace. I told him I did not see how I could draw a line of demarkation between my *unofficial* and *official* character in a matter of that kind, and that I would not presume to take a step of that importance without instructions from my government. I said to him farther, however, that if the government here would intimate its wishes in that respect, I would put myself at once in telegraphic communication with you.

Early yesterday morning I received a note from M. Jules Favre, thanking me for my offer to communicate with you, and expressing a hope that I might obtain your authorization to take the step indicated. I therefore telegraphed you at noon yesterday, and received your reply at 10 o'clock last night. On coming to my legation at 10 o'clock this morning, I found M. Jules Favre awaiting me to ascertain the character of the dispatch I had received from you. I read it to him and explained to him fully how our government stood in the matter. While he seemed to appreciate our position, he was evidently a good deal disappointed, and was surprised to learn of the action of the Prussian Government, as communicated by Mr. Bancroft, in rejecting intervention. On leaving, he thanked me cordially for what I had done, and said he hoped that while our government could not intervene officially, it would give the new republic of France its moral support.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 80.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 287.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 13, 1870. (Received September 29.)

SIR: Contrary to the first notice, the government of the national defense has determined to remain in Paris, the minister of justice, M. Crémieux, only going away, and he goes to Tours. I intend, therefore, to remain at my post here, at least until circumstances shall make it my duty to go away.

* * * * *

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 81.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[By cable.]

PARIS, September 14, 1870. (Received September 14.)
Paris making stupendous preparations for defense. Three hundred

thousand soldiers in city. Slight hopes of negotiations through England.

WASHBURNE.

No. 82.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 294.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 20, 1870. (Received October 5.)

SIR: I am making up a small dispatch to send to London by a gentleman who leaves at noon to-day. He may get through or he may not. All communication with Paris was cut yesterday morning, both by rail and by telegraph. As you will have seen, several members of the diplomatic body have already left and gone to Tours. They are, Lord Lyons, Prince Metternich, Mr. Nigra (the Italian minister), and the Turkish ambassador. They left without any consultation with the other members of the corps.

* * * * *

I have, &c., E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 83.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 295.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 21, 1870. (Received October 18.)

I have the honor to inclose you herewith a correspondence I have had with some German citizens of the United States, in relation to the protection afforded them by American passports, and which explains itself.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.]

Messrs. Hecht, Held, and Kayser to Mr. Washburne.

DIEPPE, August 29, 1870.

DEAR SIR: Learning that a proclamation is issued by General Trochu expelling from Paris, as well as from France, all persons of German birth, or born in such country, at present at war with France, we, the undersigned, naturalized citizens of the United States, of German birth, but duly furnished with a valid passport, beg your excellency to inform them whether the said proclamation applies to them or prevents their temporary sojourn here or in any other part of France.

Your kind reply, per return mail, will very much oblige and relieve your very obedient servants,

B. HECHT.
MARK HELD.
HENRY KAYSER.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States to France.

P. S.—Please telegraph your reply to the undersigned, for which we beg you to find inclosed stamps.

B. HECHT,
Hotel du Rhine, Dieppe.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to Messrs. Hecht, Held, and Kayser.

PARIS, August 31, 1870.

GENTLEMEN: I have this morning received your letter of the 29th instant. I shall immediately telegraph you that the order of General Trochu does not include naturalized citizens of the United States of German birth. Such persons are citizens of the United States, and all proper protection will be extended to them, under all circumstances and at all hazards.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
E. B. WASHBURNE.

Messrs. HECHT, HELD, and KAYSER, Dieppe, France.

No. 84.

[Translation.]

NOTE VERBALE.

BERLIN, September 23, 1870. (Received November 20.)

The department of foreign affairs has the honor to inform the legation of the United States of America in France, in reply to the *note verbale* of the 24th of the past month, that, according to intelligence received from the minister of war, the French general, Abel Douay, killed at the battle of Woerth, was buried the next day in the cemetery of Wissembourg, and that his body was not buried on a farm.

To the LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA *in France*.

No. 85.

CIRCULAR TO THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES.

BERLIN, September 26, 1870.

Since the actual government in France have declined the armistice and made Paris the theater of war, and since a recognized government does not exist in Paris, and the *de facto* government is said to have been transferred to Tours, the undersigned has the honor to inform you that security of intercourse to, from, and in Paris exists but proportionally with military events.

The undersigned avails himself, &c.

VON THILE.

No. 86.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 296.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 26, 1870. (Received October 19.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose you herewith the proceedings of a meeting of the diplomatic corps, as drawn up by my private secretary, and which fully explain themselves.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.]

MEETING OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

A meeting of the diplomatic corps having been convoked by the Pope's nuncio, the *doyen* of the corps, some twenty-two members of the body met at 11 o'clock a. m., Friday, September 23, 1870, at the residence of the nuncio, No. 102 St. Dominique, St. Germain, Paris.

The nuncio stated his reasons for convoking the body. Their present position as diplomatic representatives was comparatively a useless one, as their communications were now cut off with their various governments. He considered it proper that they should consult together and decide—

First. Whether the time had come when it was proper for them to leave Paris.

Secondly. Whether they would act together, or act separately.

Thirdly. If it should be decided not to leave at the present time, that it should be determined what steps were to be taken to send and receive dispatches through the military lines.

The nuncio thought the time had not yet arrived for the corps to leave. He thought it best for the members to act collectively, and he hoped measures would be taken so that they could communicate with their governments. He concluded by asking a general expression of opinion.

Mr. Kern, the Swiss minister, expressed a decided opinion that it was not proper for the body to leave now. The time for leaving would be, according to diplomatic usage, when the notice of bombardment had been received. He had thought strange of certain members of the corps leaving without notice or consultation with their colleagues. He thought it was more dignified to remain and act collectively. He wished the nuncio to take upon himself to communicate with the minister of foreign affairs and obtain all information possible in relation to communicating through the military lines, and to arrange for egress, if it should become necessary, of the diplomatic corps.

After a few observations of Baron de Zuylen de Nyeveldt, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Holland, and by Baron Beyens, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Belgium, Mr. Washburne remarked that he fully agreed with the opinions expressed by his colleagues who had spoken. He was obliged to the nuncio, who had taken the trouble to convoke the body, for, in the circumstances that existed, he considered it important that they should act in concert. He did not consider that the time had come for the diplomatic corps to leave, for he thought they should stay as long as possible, not only for the dignity of their own governments, but for the protection of such of their countrymen as might yet be in Paris. For himself, he wished to give to the government of the national defense such consideration as was due to it as a government recognized by the United States. He thought steps should be taken immediately to open communication through the lines for the dispatches of the diplomatic body, and that as soon as anything was accomplished, another meeting should be convoked. It would be unnecessary at the present meeting to take any steps in relation to going out of the city, as the emergency had not arisen to render it necessary to go.

After further and informal expression of opinions, the nuncio consented to accept the mission confided to him, and he would reconvene the body at an early day to report as to what had been done.

The meeting then separated.

No. 87.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 297.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, September 30, 1870. (Received October 18.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith copies of a correspondence between the consuls general and consuls of Southern and Central America and myself (including a letter from the minister of foreign affairs), in relation to my according the protection of the Government of the United States to the arms, flags, residences, &c., of their respective consulates.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

Consuls-General and Consul to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, September 22, 1870.

MR. MINISTER: The undersigned, E. Tibergheim Ackerman, consul-general of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay; Jules Thirion, of the Dominican Republic; Gabriel Lafond de Lurcy, consul-general of the republic of Costa Rica; B. Fourguet, consul-general of the republic of Ecuador; Francisco Fernandez Rodella, consul-general of the republic of Chili; Ludovic Janré, consul of the republic of Paraguay; Eugène Thirion, consul of the republic of the United States of Venezuela, considering that they are clothed with consular functions by Southern and Central American republics, who have no accredited diplomatic representatives in Europe, or whose chiefs of legation are absent from Paris; considering that, in the present grave circumstances and the possibility of the occupation of the city of Paris by the Prussian armies, who may attack the persons and property of neutrals whose governments have treaties of friendship and commerce with Prussia or with the German states at war with France; considering, finally, that the undersigned consular officers do not find themselves sufficiently protected, inasmuch as their isolated or collective action toward the Prussian government is deprived of that diplomatic character and sanction which can alone insure its efficiency; for these motives the undersigned, invoking the sentiments of union and fraternity which should unite states having republican institutions in common, have the honor to pray you, sir, in the name of the law of nations, of justice, and of humanity, to take under the official protection of the United States of America the chanceries of the above-mentioned republics.

The undersigned hope, sir, that in case of attack or the occupation of Paris, you will kindly interpose your good offices diplomatically with the Prussian headquarters, and take such measures as you may judge proper that the Prussian troops may be obliged to respect the arms, flags, residences, persons, and families of the undersigned, as well as their fellow-citizens, respectively, who may seek shelter with them, by covering in this manner the undersigned and the interests they represent with the powerful intervention of the United States Government.

It is worthy of a great power like the American nation to lend its protecting aid to sister and friendly republics who have not yet acquired the necessary development to make right stronger than force in Europe.

Such an act of good will on your part, sir, solicited by the undersigned, is perfectly legitimate, in view of events and of the present position.

It will be received gratefully by the governments of the undersigned, and will constitute a debt of gratitude which can only draw closer the bonds of active and cordial sympathy which bind them to the glorious republic founded by Washington.

The undersigned beg you, sir, to kindly receive the assurances of their highest consideration and of their profound respect.

JULES THIRION,

Consul-General de la République Dominicaine.

E. TIBERGHEIM ACKERMÁN,

Consul-General of Uruguay.

GEO. LAFOND,

Consul General of Costa Rica to France.

B. FOURGUET,

Consul-General of Ecuador.

FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ RODELLA,

Consul-General of the Republic of Chili.

LUDOVIC JANRÉ,

Consul of the Republic of Paraguay.

EUGÈNE THIRION,

Consul of the Republic of the United States of Venezuela.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, September 24, 1870.

The following-named consuls-general and consuls at Paris, to wit, E. Tibergheim Ackerman, consul-general of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay; Jules Thirion, consul-

general of the Dominican Republic; Gabriel Lafond de Lurey, consul-general of the republic of Costa Rica; B. Fourquet, consul-general of the republic of Ecuador; Francisco Fernandez Rodella, consul-general of the republic of Chili; Ludovic Janré, consul of the republic of Paraguay; Eugene Thirion, consul of the republic of the United States of Venezuela, who are clothed with consular functions by the Southern and Central American Republics, state to me that they have either no accredited diplomatic representative in Europe, or that the chiefs of such legations as have representatives at Paris are absent from the city. Considering, therefore, the grave circumstances at present existing in Paris, they have done me the honor to request that I might, as the representative of a sister and friendly republic, extend my good offices and friendly protection to the arms, flags, and residences of their consulates-general and consulates, as well as to their fellow-citizens finding themselves in Paris.

As I am without the means of communication with my government on the subject, I shall assume that it would desire me, under the circumstances, to extend my good offices and protection in every proper manner, but with the knowledge and consent of the government of the national defense. I have the honor therefore to submit this matter to the consideration of your excellency, with a request that you may inform me if the consent of your government will be given to me to extend my good offices and protection as herein indicated, and in a manner in conformity with the law of nations and the amity that exists between friendly powers.

I take this occasion to renew to your excellency the assurance of the distinguished consideration with which I am your excellency's obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 3.]

The Minister of Foreign Affairs to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, September 26, 1870.

SIR: You did me the honor to write me on the 24th of this month to inform me of the wish expressed to you by the consuls-general and by the consuls of the republics, viz: Dominican, of Uruguay, of Costa Rica, of Ecuador, of Chili, of Paraguay, and of Venezuela, to place under our protection, and to confide to your good offices, the arms, flags, and residences of the consulates, as well as their fellow-countrymen residing in Paris.

I hasten to inform you that the government of the national defense, to whom I have submitted this request, has authorized me to receive it favorably. The foreign consuls certainly could not make a choice which would be more acceptable to us than that of the representative of the United States. However, as certain of them are French, it should be understood that (conformably, too, to what is stipulated in their exequaturs) the favor solicited by them is not to have the effect of keeping them personally from the obligations and duties imposed upon them in their quality of Frenchmen. The position in France of the citizens of the republic of South America, in time of war as in time of peace, is settled by treaties. As far as those republics are concerned which have made choice of Frenchmen as consuls, the application of the measures of favor stipulated in those treaties can extend only to the archives of the consulates and to the foreigners depending upon them, and this only for what depends upon the competency or the powers of the French administration.

Receive the assurances, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

[Inclosure 4.]

Mr. Washburne to the Consuls-General and Consuls.

PARIS, September 30, 1870.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 22d instant, asking that, in the present grave circumstances existing in Paris, I might interpose my good offices to protect the arms, flags, residences, &c., of your respective consulates. Not being able to communicate with my government on the subject, I took it for granted that on account of the warm feeling of friendship it feels for its sister republics, it would most willingly have me assume all the good offices and protection which I could properly render in the premises.

I deemed it proper, however, before giving you this assurance, to advise the government of the national defense of your request, and to ask its permission to act in accordance therewith, in a manner in conformity with the law of nations and the amity that exists between friendly powers. I have had the honor to receive a reply from his excellency Jules Favre, the minister of foreign affairs, a copy of which I beg leave to inclose herewith for your information. In accordance, therefore, with the assent accorded by the government of the national defense, and with the qualifications indicated in the letter of the minister of foreign affairs, I have the pleasure of placing myself at your disposition and to offer you the good offices and friendly protection of my government, so far as they may be in accordance with usage and public law in such cases.

My government will feel highly complimented by the distinguished mark of confidence shown to it by its sister republics of Central and South America. The government and the people of the United States take the deepest interest in all that concerns their welfare and happiness, and they will cordially reciprocate the sentiments of fraternity and sympathy which you have so kindly expressed.

I have the honor to request that you will accept, individually, the assurance of the distinguished consideration with which I have honor to be, with great respect, your very obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

To Messieurs—

E. TIBERGHEIM ACKERMAN,
Consul-General of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

JULES THIRION,
Consul-General of the Dominican Republic.

GABRIEL LAFOND DE LURCY,
Consul-General of the Republic of Costa Rica.

B. FOURGUET,
Consul-General of the Republic of Ecuador.

FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ RODELLA,
Consul-General of the Republic of Chili.

LUDOVIC JANRÉ,
Consul of the Republic of Paraguay.

EUGÈNE THIRION,
Consul of the Republic of the United States of Venezuela.

No. 88.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 299.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 3, 1870. (Received October 18.)

SIR: Much to my surprise and gratification General Burnside and Paul Forbes, esq., made their appearance at my house this morning at 8.30 o'clock. They were courteously permitted to come through the Prussian lines by Count Bismarck, and to bring me a small dispatch-bag, made up by Mr. Stevens, on the 23d ultimo, in London. It contained the dispatch of Mr. Davis of the 8th ultimo, and New York dates to the 10th.

These gentlemen are the first and only persons who have entered Paris from the Prussian lines for two weeks. I have sent dispatches out on two or three different occasions by persons leaving the city, but have not before to-day received anything whatever from outside of the city.

Of course I know nothing of the Prussian force around Paris, nor anything of their plans or operations. As to matters in Paris, I can only say that there has been the most wonderful change in the last two weeks. The report of Jules Favre seems to have changed the face of things entirely. All Paris is now apparently united and determined. They claim to have five hundred thousand troops in the city. Ten

thousand sailors man their outer forts, which are mostly supplied with naval guns of the heaviest caliber.

The inner defenses are wonderfully strong.

* * * * *

The diplomatic corps has come to no decision in regard to leaving Paris. I expect we shall know to-day the decision of the Prussian authorities in regard to our sending out and receiving our dispatches. I think there must be some three hundred of our countrymen now in Paris, and many of them are anxious to get away. It is now doubtful whether they will be permitted to go out, either by the French or Prussian authorities. I would, no doubt, be permitted to leave at any time, but should permission to depart be refused to my countrymen, I should consider it my duty to remain. However anxious I might be myself to get away, I should deem it a species of cowardice to avail myself of my diplomatic privilege to depart and leave my *nati·nau·x* behind me to take care of themselves. I am certain such a course would not meet with the approbation of my government, as it certainly would not of my own conscience. If, however, such Americans as may want to depart are permitted to go, I may then leave whenever I think the interest of my government would be better served by my being out of Paris than by remaining in it.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 89.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 301.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 4, 1870. (Received November —, 1870.)

SIR: General Burnside and Mr. Forbes left to go through the Prussian lines yesterday. The general took the bag, in which I had inclosed several dispatches. My colleague of the diplomatic corps, Mr. Caicedo, the minister resident of the United States of Colombia, expects to leave to-morrow morning, and I propose intrusting this dispatch to him to be delivered to Mr. Stevens in London. The diplomatic corps has received no answer to the application to the Prussian authorities to be permitted to send a courier through the military lines to take official dispatches to their respective governments. Count Bismarck writes to Jules Favre that such permission will be granted only on the condition that such dispatches shall be unsealed and subject to the inspection of the Prussian authorities and contain nothing in relation to the war. For myself, I determined instantly that I would not send dispatches under any such conditions, for I assumed that the Government of the United States would permit no other government to examine the official dispatches of its diplomatic representatives. At a meeting of the corps this morning to consider the question, it was unanimously determined not to accept any such condition. The Prussian authorities will be advised of that decision, and no other application will be made to them. If the siege continue, and I remain in Paris, it will be for you to determine as to the measures to be taken to hold official communication with me.

It seems that the nuncio, acting as the *doyen* of the diplomatic corps, had requested Jules Favre to ask Count Bismarck to advise the corps

whenever the bombardment of the city was to take place. That fact only came to my knowledge yesterday, and I sent word to Count Bismarck, by General Burnside, that I had nothing to do with such a request, as I conceived that, according to the laws of war, the diplomatic corps had a right to a notification of bombardment without asking for it.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN,

No. 90.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 302.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 8, 1870. (Received November 9, 1870.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose you herewith certain proceedings of meetings held by the diplomatic corps, which may be taken in connection with my dispatch No. 301, under date of the 4th instant, and which are in a measure explanatory thereof.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

MEETING OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

In accordance with a previous notice, the diplomatic corps met at the residence of the Pope's nuncio at eleven o'clock on Tuesday, the 4th day of October, 1870. Twenty-one members of the corps were present.

The nuncio reported to the meeting that, in pursuance of the previous action of the body, he had seen Mr. Jules Favre, and had verbally requested him to communicate with Count Bismarck for the purpose of ascertaining, first, whether he would give notice to the diplomatic corps of a bombardment; and, second, whether he would permit a courier to pass the Prussian military lines to take out and bring in official dispatches for the members of the body. After a long delay Mr. Jules Favre had received the response of Count Bismarck, the substance of which he had in his hands and would read. As to the first matter, Count Bismarck said that he was unable at the moment to state what the necessities of the war might require; and, touching the request for a courier, he would allow one to pass the lines once a week to bear official dispatches, provided such dispatches should not be sealed and have no reference to the war. The nuncio said the first answer was evasive, and that the condition imposed in relation to the manner of sending dispatches would render it impossible for the diplomatic body to avail themselves of Count Bismarck's offer.

Mr. Kern, the minister from Switzerland, said there had been a misapprehension as to the communication to Count Bismarck. It should not have been a communication by Jules Favre to Bismarck, but the nuncio should, as the organ of the diplomatic corps, have written direct to him and sent it through Favre as the intermediary. In regard to the inquiry which had been directed to Count Bismarck touching the bombardment, he certainly should have strongly protested against it. The diplomatic corps had a right by the laws of war to a notice of bombardment, and the body had been placed in a false position by requesting something which they had a right to without asking for it.*

Baron Beyens, the Belgian minister, expressed himself as not being very clear in regard to the questions which had been raised; some of the people in the foreign office had told him that the diplomatic corps had no right to a notice of bombardment. Mr. Kern replied he considered such opinions of no value; he had himself studied the question, and he had no doubts on the subject. He would further say, in relation to the courier, that, as a matter of courtesy due to their respective governments, the diplo-

*As to availing himself of a courier to take his dispatches, he would reject it at once, as the condition was disrespectful not only to his government but to himself.

matic corps had a right to be advised by the Prussian authorities of their intention to cut off their communications with their governments. Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt, minister of Holland, said the Prussian authorities ought to be informed at once of the presence of the diplomatic corps in Paris, and that they rejected the offer of a courier on the terms proposed.

Mr. P. Galvez, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Peru, said that body owed it to the countries they represented, to the dignity of the diplomatic service, as well as to themselves, to respond negatively to Count Bismarck's proposition to have their official correspondence sent unsealed.

Mr. Washburne, minister of the United States, said there seemed to have been a misapprehension in regard to the character of the communication sent by Mr. Jules Favre, on behalf of the diplomatic corps, to Count Bismarck. He had not understood that a request had been sent to have notice given to the diplomatic corps when the bombardment would take place. He conceived that no such request should have been made, for the diplomatic body had a right to that notice without asking for it. He would further reject instantly any concession of a courier coupled with the condition that his dispatches should go unsealed. He would not write a dispatch to his government which would have to be submitted to the inspection of any other government on the face of the earth.

Mr. Kern, Baron de Zuylen de Nyevelt, and Mr. Washburne were then joined to the nuncio, as a committee to draw up a communication, to be signed by all the members of the corps in Paris, to be sent to Count Bismarck; the same to be submitted to a future meeting for approval.

OCTOBER 5, 1870.

Mr. Kern, Baron Nyevelt, and Mr. Washburne met at the residence of the nuncio, at 2 o'clock p.m., to agree upon the answer to be made to Count Bismarck. Mr. Kern submitted the *projet* of an answer, which was agreed to, and the nuncio was requested to notify the members of the diplomatic body to meet at his residence the next day, at 11 o'clock a.m., to act upon it and to sign it if it met their views.

OCTOBER 6, 1870.

The members of the diplomatic body met in accordance with the notice given by the nuncio yesterday. The committee submitted the answer to Count Bismarck that had been drawn up, which was unanimously agreed to and signed by all the members.

The communication is hereto annexed.

Diplomatic Corps to Count Bismarck.

The undersigned, members of the diplomatic corps residing at Paris, had the honor to send to your excellency, on the 24th of September last, the expression of their wish, that a courier, carrying their official dispatches, might pass the lines of the besieging army every week on days to be hereafter named, and proceed to some point whence a regular postal communication could be assured.

The minister of foreign affairs of France has informed us, by a letter of October 3, that he had the day before received as the reply of your excellency, "that a diplomatic courier could not pass the lines of the besieging troops except upon condition that the dispatches be unsealed and treat of no subject relating to the war."

We should have made it a duty, as regards the contents of our dispatches, to conform scrupulously to the obligations imposed during a siege upon diplomatic agents by the rules and usages of international law.

On the other hand, our position as diplomatic agents, and our obligations toward our governments, do not permit us to accept the other condition, viz., to address to them unsealed dispatches only.

If this last condition is to be maintained, it will be impossible for the diplomatic

representatives of the neutral states, to their deep regret, to keep up official communication with their respective governments.

Receive, sir, the assurance of, &c., &c., &c.
PARIS, October 6, 1870.

FLAVIUS,
The Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop of Myre.

KERN,
Minister of the Swiss Confederation.

BR. ADELSWAERD,
Minister of Sweden.

CTE. DE MOLTKE HAUFELDT,
Minister of Denmark.

BR. BEYENS,
Minister of Belgium.

LOPEZ DE ARQSEMENA,
Secrétaire Chargé d'Affaires des Légations de Honduras et de Salvador.

BR. DE ZUYLEN DE NYEVELT,
Ministre des Pays Bas.

HENRIQUE L. MATDEN,
Chargé d'Affaires du Brésil.

VTE. DE LANCASTRE,
Chargé d'Affaires du Portugal.

E. B. WASHBURN,
Ministre des États-Unis.

TORRES CAICEDO,
Ministre Resident des États-Unis de Colombie.

DUC D'ACQUAIEVA,
Chargé d'Affaires de Monaco et San Marino.

WILLIAM MARTIN,
Chargé d'Affaires de Hawaï.

JULES THIRION,
Chargé d'Affaires de la République Dominicaine.

V. DE BALLIVRAN Y RODAS,
Ministre de Bolivie.

P. GALVEZ,
Ministre du Pérou.

No. 91.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 303.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 9, 1870. (Received November 9.)

SIR : I came to the legation late last night to write you a dispatch to send out by the minister of the United States of Colombia, who was to have left this morning. On my arrival I was both surprised and gratified to learn that General Burnside and Mr. Forbes had returned to the city. They very soon afterward reported themselves and explained the reason of their visit. In several interviews with Count Bismarck, he expressed the idea that it would be well to have certain suggestions conveyed to Mr. Jules Favre in relation to an armistice, for the purpose of enabling the French people to elect a constituent assembly. You will recollect that was the matter which was talked of in the interview between Favre and Bismarck, and that the former rejected it because it was insisted that, as a condition to such an armistice, the Prussian army should have possession of some of the forts about Paris. It is evident that both powers desire a convention of the people of France; Prussia, because she wants a more substantial power to treat with than the present provisional government; France, because the government of the national defense do not want to take the responsibility of making a treaty, but desire that any treaty to be made should be made by a power emanating

directly from the whole people, acting through a constituent assembly: Count Bismarck authorized General Burnside to suggest to Mr. Jules Favre that he would yield the question of the forts and would grant an absolute armistice of forty-eight hours for holding an election, and give every facility for a fair election, for the distribution of tickets and circulars, for a committee to go out of Paris, as well as for the departure of the members elected from the city of Paris, and to render themselves wherever the convention should be held, &c. In addition, it was suggested that a sort of *semi-armistice* might be agreed upon, to extend over a sufficient time to permit the convention to be held; that is to say, there should be no firing; but that the Prussians should be permitted to bring up their guns and provisions, and that everything in Paris should remain *in statu quo*.

I accompanied the two gentlemen this morning to see Mr. Jules Favre, and we had an interview of an hour. The whole subject was gone over, and Mr. Favre stated the objections to Count Bismarck's suggestions. He is, however, to see his colleagues on the subject to-night, and we are to have another interview with him to-morrow morning in season. I hope to give you an account of it before General Burnside shall leave to-morrow noon. I trust some starting-point may be found, so that negotiations with a view to peace may be entered upon. In accordance with your instructions, if both parties shall signify a desire for the good offices of our government disconnected with the European powers, I shall feel authorized to extend them in a proper manner.

MONDAY NOON, *October 10, 1870.*

I have this moment returned from a long interview between General Burnside and Mr. Forbes, Mr. Jules Favre and General Trochu. As the flag of truce is waiting to take our countrymen into the Prussian lines, I have time to say but one word, and that is, that the parties are a long way apart, and that there is hardly a possibility that anything will be accomplished. The door, however, is left open, and it is barely possible that something may be accomplished in the future.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 92.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 304.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 18, 1870. (Received November 8.)

SIR: I have not had the honor to receive from you any communication since the last dispatch I addressed to you, No. 303, and dated the 9th instant, and which I send out by General Burnside. I had gone out with the general the messenger of this legation, Antoine Schmit, with the expectation that the Prussian authorities would permit him to go to London with the bag and bring back to me here the bags for this legation that have arrived there within the last three or four weeks. I may here state that I have nothing from the Department since the 8th ultimo. How much longer I am to remain without instructions, advice, or communication from my government, I cannot tell. My messenger went as far as Versailles, near the Prussian headquarters, and although General Burnside urged that he might be permitted to go to London with

the bag and return, bringing back other bags permission was refused. The Prussian authorities would permit him to go to London with the bag but they would not allow him to return. In obedience to my instructions he did not go on, but returned to Paris last Friday night. General Burnside sent word by him that he would take charge of the bag himself and deliver it in London.

I have kept you fully advised as to what the diplomatic corps has done in relation to keeping up communication with their respective governments. With what I have sent you and with what you will have received from the Prussian Government, you will have had the whole case before you.

Since my last dispatch, I have received from Count de Bismarck the letter, a copy of which I send herewith, marked 1. I send also a copy of a letter from the count to the Pope's nuncio, marked 2, which I presume you have also received from the Prussian Government. I further send the circular of M. von Thile, marked 3. *

You will perceive that Count de Bismarck, in his very friendly and courteous note to me, declares his readiness to have my dispatches to my government conveyed by his weekly messengers to London, to be delivered in the manner designated, &c. I presume it is implied that his messengers would bring the dispatches of my government to me. If not, the concession has little value. The permission accorded to me by Count de Bismarck is on account of the anomalous position I occupy toward the Prussian government, and is not conceded as a matter of right. I have made no answer to that part of the count's letter, leaving it to be determined by you, unembarrassed by anything I may have said, how far the Government of the United States will claim the absolute right to communicate with its representative to a friendly power, situated as I am.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, October 10, 1870.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: The exceptional position you occupy makes it incumbent on me to give you an answer separate and different from that I am going to return to the other diplomats who have signed the collective letter of the 6th instant, on the subject of communication with their respective governments. You have been good enough, in compliance with the desire of your government, to take upon yourself the officious protection of the Germans residing in France. For this reason alone I should not have sent off my answer without adding the expression of my sincere thanks for the zeal and good will you have bestowed upon the very troublesome task of assisting my unfortunate countrymen expelled by the French in glaring contradiction to the usages of civilized nations.

As to the subject in question, I regret that reasons of a military character should make it absolutely impossible to allow, as a rule, messengers to pass through our lines; considering that it is not in the power of even the most honorable correspondent to make himself responsible for what the messenger may bear or communicate, besides what he is authorized to carry.

We cannot but maintain the principle set forth in my letter to Mr. Jules Favre, of the 26th of last month, a translation of which you find in the inclosed copy of the North German Correspondent. I beg further to add a translation of a circular of M. de Thile, bearing upon the same subject. With respect to the American embassy, however, it being accredited already with the French Republic, and officially charged with the representation of our interests, the case is different, and I willingly declare my readiness to have any dispatches they may address to their respective governments,

* See page 71.

conveyed by our weekly messengers to the embassy of the United States in London, provided the dispatches be delivered by the French outposts to ours under flag of truce. It is the individual character of our relation with the American embassy which has caused us already to allow Mr. Burnside and Mr. Forbes, to go there and back between this and Paris, both of them being gentlemen whose loyalty removes every apprehension as to any misuse of that privilege. Perhaps I may be permitted to avail myself of the present opportunity to state that this liberality of ours has been rewarded by those excellent cigars you have been kind enough to send me. I pray your excellency to receive the assurance of the very high regard and most distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to be.

Your humble, obedient servant,

BISMARCK.

[Inclosure 2.]

Count Bismarck to the papal nuncio.

VERSAILLES, October 10, 1870.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive the letter of the 6th October instant, by which the members of the diplomatic corps still residing at Paris have seen fit to inform me that it would be impossible for them to keep up official correspondence with their respective governments if the condition prescribing that they should forward only open dispatches should be insisted upon.

When the continuation of the siege of Paris was rendered inevitable by the refusal of an armistice by the French Government, the government of the King, of its own motion, by a circular note of the secretary of state, Mr. de Thile, of the 26th September last (of which I have the honor to send you a copy), notified the agents of the neutral powers accredited to Berlin that liberty of communication with Paris would exist henceforth only so far as military events would permit. The same day I received at Ferrières a communication from the minister of foreign affairs of the government of the national defense, which informed me of the wish expressed by the members of the diplomatic corps to be authorized to send their dispatches to their governments by weekly couriers, and I did not hesitate, in conformity with the rules of international law, to make a reply, dictated by the necessities of the military situation; a copy of which I also transmit to your excellency. The representatives of the present power (government?) have seen fit to establish the seat of their government in the midst of the fortifications of Paris, and to choose that city and its environs as the theater of the war. If the members of the diplomatic corps who have been accredited to a preceding government have decided to share with the government of the national defense the inconveniences inseparable from a residence in a besieged fortress, it is not the government of the King which is responsible for it.

Whatever may be our confidence that the signers of the letter of October 6 would conform, in their communications addressed to their governments, to the obligations which their presence in a besieged fortress imposes upon the diplomatic agents according to the laws of war, we must provide for the possibility that the importance of certain facts in a military point of view may escape them. It is evident, too, that they cannot furnish us the same guarantees for the messengers whom they may employ, and whom we shall be obliged to let pass and repass through our lines.

There has been created at Paris a state of things to which modern history furnishes no precise analogy in the point of view of international law. A government at war with a power which has not yet recognized it, shuts itself up in a besieged fortress, and finds itself there surrounded by a part of the diplomats who were accredited to a government which has been superseded by the government of the national defense.

In presence of a situation so irregular it is difficult to establish, on the basis of the law of nations, rules which should be free from doubt in all points of view. I hope that your excellency will not fail to recognize the justness of these observations, and will appreciate the considerations which prevent me, to my great regret, from consenting to the wish expressed in the letter of the 6th of October. If, however, the signers cannot admit the justness of these considerations, the governments which they represent at Paris, and to which I shall hasten to communicate this correspondence, will consult on their side, and will put themselves in communication with the government of the King for an examination of the questions of the law of nations which grow out of the abnormal situation which events and the measures of the government of the national defense have created at Paris.

'Receive, &c.,

BISMARCK.

Monseigneur CHIGI,
Nonce Apostolique à Paris.

No. 93.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 305.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 18, 1870. (Received November 9.)

SIR : Many of our countrymen, shut in by the investment of Paris, having become very anxious to leave the city, I asked General Burnside to procure, if possible, the permission of the Prussian authorities to go through their military lines. The general having advised me that Count de Bismarck had authorized him to say that he would permit all Americans to go through their lines that I would ask for, I yesterday made application to the French Government for authority to the citizens of the United States to leave the city and go through their military lines. Just as I was about to close my dispatches to send out early in the morning, I received the letter from Mr. Jules Favre which I have the honor to send herewith. I must confess that I was very much surprised and disappointed. If the decision is adhered to in its full force, the disappointment to large numbers of our countrymen now in Paris will be very great. I estimate that there are between two hundred and two hundred and fifty Americans now in Paris, and that about one hundred of them are anxious to leave. Among this number desirous of going away are found many cut off from their communications from home, who are without funds, and who have no means whatever of living. If the siege continues for a long time, and they cannot get away, their condition must become deplorable in the extreme. I need not say that matters are becoming very embarrassing, but I hope we shall get through in some satisfactory way. I shall look further into this matter of the departure of our people, and write you by the first opportunity.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, October 18, 1870.

SIR AND DEAR MINISTER : Conformably to the desire which you have done me the honor to express to me yesterday, I transmit to your excellency the letter addressed to the minister of war, to notify him of the departure of your courier. I beg you to send it to him at once, with notice of the precise hour of his departure.

As regards the permission solicited by a number of your countrymen to pass our lines to leave Paris, I have asked for it from the only competent authority, that is to say, from the governor of Paris. He was of opinion that the difficulties raised by this request, being political as well as military, the government ought to examine them. The government has done so, with a strong desire to be agreeable personally, and to give to your nation a new proof of its sincere cordiality. But however powerful are these considerations upon our minds, we have been checked by the absolute impossibility which we find ourselves in of satisfying the requests of a similar nature which are constantly made. The number of strangers who have not left Paris is very great; many of them have asked of us permission to leave Paris, which we have been obliged to refuse for reasons of defense, of which your excellency will, without doubt, appreciate the value. To grant them would be to annul our military operations; to make exceptions would be to create an unjustifiable privilege. I have therefore the regret to notify your excellency that the government is of opinion that permission to leave Paris during the siege can only be granted to persons clothed with a diplomatic character.

I beg your excellency to believe that it is extremely painful to me not to be able to be agreeable to you. It is one of the griefs which war imposes upon us, and it is one of those to which I can least easily reconcile myself.

I beg your excellency, &c., &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

No. 94.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, October 19, 1870.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your letter, dated the 17th instant, concerning the withdrawal of American citizens from Paris. In answer, I beg to say that your countrymen will be permitted to pass through our lines if provided with passports delivered by you and stating that they are citizens of the United States. The departure should be taken by the Porte de Créteil. Recent experiences, and a decision adopted in consequence by our military authorities, make it necessary that all persons leaving Paris for the purpose of passing through our lines should be earnestly warned that they are not allowed to carry any parcels, letters, or communications whatsoever besides those to be delivered to our outposts, and that any contravention in this respect will unfailingly bring down upon them the full rigor of martial law. I beg you will be good enough to have it stated on the passports that the bearer has been warned accordingly.

With the expression of my highest respect, I remain, sir, &c., &c.,
v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 95.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, October 19, 1870.

SIR: In answer to your letter of the 17th instant, I have the honor to inform you that a king's messenger is going from here to London by way of Brussels every Wednesday. Owing to the irregularity of the railway and postal service, there is now and then a delay of one, perhaps two days.

The messenger has to start by 10 o'clock a. m., and will be duly instructed to deliver your letter-bags to Mr. Stevens.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,
v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States of America, Paris.*

No. 96.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, October 19, 1870.

SIR: I have received two letters from Mr. Jules Favre and Mr. Foelkersam, the Russian consul-general, respectively, copies of which I beg

to inclose, concerning the withdrawal of certain persons, not French, from Paris. We have intimated to Mr. Jules Favre that the military authorities have consented to the request expressed therein, under the condition, however, that the identity and nationality of those persons ought to be verified and attested in a list compiled by you. I very much regret that, in addition to so much trouble, I should be obliged to draw still more upon your kindness. Recent experiences, and a decision adopted in consequence by the military authorities, make it necessary that all persons leaving Paris for the purpose of passing through our lines should be earnestly warned that they are not allowed to carry any parcels, letters, or communications whatsoever, besides those to be delivered to our outposts, and that any contravention in this respect will unfailingly bring down upon them the full vigor of martial law. I beg you will be good enough to state on the foot of the list or lists that the persons named therein have been warned accordingly. The departure should be taken by the Porte de Crêteil.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of the highest consideration with which I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the United States, Paris.*

No. 97.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 21, 1870.

SIR : When it became inevitable that Paris was to be invested I used every exertion in my power to send out from the city all the subjects of the North German Confederation then here, against whom the order of expulsion had been directed.

As deplorable as their condition then was, I knew that it must become infinitely worse after the siege should commence. It is not to be wondered at that, in so large a German population as there was in Paris at the breaking out of the war, quite a number were still found in the city when communication was finally cut off.

Some were too old and some were too sick to leave ; some were children without protectors, but the greater number were female domestics, many of whom had been persuaded to remain with their employers under pledges of protection. As the siege progressed, however, these poor people, either abandoned by their employers or denounced to the authorities, were turned into the street, only to be arrested and cast into prison.

On making a personal visit to the prison of St. Lazare, a few days since, I found no less than seventy-four persons of this class, subjects of the different German powers at war with France. I lost no time in arranging for their release and I now have them all comfortably cared for and upon reasonable terms ; I have some twenty others (mostly females) whom I am providing for, making about one hundred in all. The French Government has promised me that they shall have full protection.

From the fund so generously placed at my disposal by your government, I think I have sufficient means in my hands to properly and comfortably care for all the Germans now in Paris; if not, I can make advances should it be desired. In using this fund in this way, I am sure that I correctly interpret the humane and generous sentiments of the royal government toward its unfortunate subjects now in this city, whose sufferings and distress I have been compelled to witness since the commencement of the war and by which I have been so deeply touched.

With, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK, &c., &c., &c.

No. 98.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 307.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 24, 1870. (Received November 15.)

SIR: The minister of the United States of Colombia, Mr. Caicedo, before leaving Paris, with all the *personnel* of his legation, requested me to take under my protection the few Colombians who might remain in Paris. I promised to do so very cheerfully, glad of the opportunity to render a service to a sister American republic; but as there are very few Colombians in Paris, and their interests are not large, I have not thought it worth while to trouble the French Government with a request for its assent. My protection will be simply "officious."

The chargé d'affaires of Portugal, the Vicomte de Lancastre, who proposes to leave Paris to-morrow, has also asked me to extend our protection to his fellow-subjects remaining in Paris. I have consented to do so; but as this is a matter of more importance, in view of the number of persons and the importance of the interests at stake, I have asked the consent of the government of the national defense. This has been promptly accorded. The request of the Vicomte de Lancastre was made by direction of his government.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 99.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 308.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 24, 1870. (Received November 15.)

SIR: Referring to my dispatch of the 18th instant, and numbered 305, I have the honor to state that I have this day received from the Government of the National Defense the permission for my countrymen to leave Paris. They are to leave, therefore, on Thursday morning next, by the way of Crêteil.

It had been twice decided that at this state of the siege no foreigner would be permitted to leave Paris, but after having several interviews on the subject with General Trochu and Mr. Jules Favre, they finally agreed to change their determination, and let all of our Americans go

who wanted to leave. I think this decision is mainly due to a friendly feeling toward our government. From the beginning, Mr. Jules Favre evinced every desire to gratify my wishes in this regard. The granting of the permission for the Americans to leave involved a like permission for the subjects of other neutral powers; and as the Prussian authorities require that I shall give a pass to every person who desires to traverse their military lines, I am likely to have a good deal of work on hand for the next two days. I have had prepared a special passport for this purpose, a copy of which I have the honor to inclose herewith.

* * * * *

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN FRANCE.

The bearer, ———, a citizen of the United States, having expressed to me a desire to leave Paris and to pass the military lines of the powers at war with France, I hereby request the military authorities aforesaid to allow ——— to pass their lines freely with ——— carriage, baggage, &c., and to give aid and protection in case of need.

In testimony whereof we, E. B. Washburne, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, have hereunto affixed our signature and the seal of this legation, this — day of —, 1870.

DEPARTURE THROUGH THE CRÉTEIL GATE.

The undersigned, whose name is in the passport on the opposite page, admits that he ——— been notified by the aforesaid Minister of the United States that he can be the bearer of no newspaper, letter, or package, except personal baggage, under penalty of military law.

PARIS, the — October, 1870.

No. 100.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, October 29, 1870.

SIR: According to trustworthy information, Dr. Fontaine, a Prussian subject, and well-known historian, while traveling for literary purposes in French districts occupied by the German forces, has been arrested and carried to Besançon, where his life appears to be in danger.

There is nothing to justify such a proceeding against an inoffensive scholar. I therefore beg you will be good enough to demand formally his release from the provisional government and to state explicitly that, in case of refusal, a certain number of persons of analogous condition of life will be arrested in different towns of France and sent to Germany to undergo there the same treatment, whatever it may be, that is reserved for Dr. Fontaine in France.

I remain, &c., &c.,

V. BISMARCK.

No. 101.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, October 29, 1870. (Received November 1.)

SIR: The King's ambassador at London informs me that Mr. Motley has expressed the desire to have Mrs. George Buckingham, of New York,

leave Paris. Her husband is now at London. I hasten to inform you of this, and add that there will be no opposition to the departure of this lady, if she presents herself furnished with a passport signed by you and establishing her identity.

The minister of Persia at London having asked for young Farouk Khan a pupil at the Bangé Institution, 94 rue de Bac, authorization to leave Paris, this permission has been also granted, and he may cross our lines with a passport establishing his identity, if you will have the kindness to so inform him.

Please accept the repeated assurance of my high consideration.

V. BISMARCK.

His Excellency Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 102.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 31, 1870.

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 29th instant, and beg to say that due attention has been given to the same. In relation to the one touching Dr. Fontaine, I have to state, however, that I have not yet been able to see Mr. Jules Favre, as he has been all day absent from the foreign office. I shall take occasion to see him as soon as possible, and shall take pleasure in complying with your request.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 103.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 310.] LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 31, 1870. (Received November 25, 1870.)

SIR : Under the permission obtained from both belligerents, forty-eight of our countrymen left Paris on Thursday last. I have the honor to send you herewith the report on the subject made to me by Mr. Ward, temporarily employed at this legation. Many persons who had professed to be very anxious to get away declined to leave when the opportunity presented itself. There are some others who now want to depart, but it is very doubtful if I can now get permission of the French authorities for them to leave. They had insisted that the whole number of those who intended to leave should go out at the same time on Thursday last. The English and the Swiss received yesterday from Count de Bismarck their permission to pass the Prussian lines, but the French authorities now hesitate to fix the day on which they may leave. The Russians went out on the same day as the Americans. I believe there is yet some trouble about the Austrians going out. I am very glad that I have so many of our countrymen safely away.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Ward to Mr. Washburne.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, October 27, 1870.

According to your instructions, and having previously obtained from the governor of Paris, General Trochu, the necessary pass for the list of Americans drawn up at this legation, I proceeded on horseback, as per appointment, at 6 a.m., with two staff officers, trumpeter, and flag of truce, to the gate of Charenton, where the convoy was to meet. Having formed the line, we passed out of the city under military escort, and proceeded to the village of Crétel, on the post-road to Baye, just beyond which was the Prussian outpost. Before reaching the village, however, an examination of your passes was made. Leaving the convoy in Crétel, the staff officers, flag of truce, trumpeter, and myself rode up to within a hundred yards of the Prussian barricade outpost. After waiting some time, and doing considerable trumpeting, a lieutenant and two soldiers appeared bearing a white flag. We parleyed, and, on the arrival of his superior officer, ordered on the convoy.

Examination of your passes was again made by Lieutenant Tillié, of Seventy-fifth regiment of the line, and myself; and German *sauv-conduits* being delivered by the lieutenant for the occupants of each carriage, prescribing their line of march, the convoy, consisting of forty-eight Americans (men, women, and children), in nineteen carriages, as per list herewith (as also the Russian convoy of seven carriages and twenty-one persons, having your passes), then passed on through the barricade into the Prussian lines; from whence I was informed they would proceed, each carriage escorted by a soldier, to the Prussian post beyond, at Boissy. Your son and Colonel Hoffman went to the outpost and returned with me to Paris, where I reported at the legation the execution of your instructions.

ALBERT LEE WARD.

List of Americans who left Paris on the 27th October, 1870.

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Cramer, Mr. G. W. Kidder, Mr. W. H. Fuller, Mr. V. Masson, Mr. H. Helmick, Mr. B. F. Meyer, Mr. G. N. Sanders, Mr. H. A. Stone and two coachmen; Dr. L. S. Burridge, two sons, governess, and coachman; Mr. E. Preble, Mrs. O. Closterman and Miss E. J. Closterman, Mr. I. C. Lykes, Mr. J. G. Peniston and Mr. J. A. Peniston, Mr. C. H. Welles, Mr. E. L. Leeds, Mr. G. L. Whittaker, Miss A. Whinnery and governess, Mr. Felix Gelin, Mr. I. F. Sterling, Mr. I. L. O'Sullivan and wife, Mr. Henry Turnbull, Mr. H. Palmieri, Mr. L. M. Sargent, Mr. W. H. Sizer, Mrs. Wagner and two children and coachman, Mr. I. A. Marsh, Mr. I. G. Bernell, wife, and four children; Mr. A. S. Southworth and courier, Mr. F. Pendleton, Mr. M. Helman, wife, child, nurse, maid, and coachman; Mr. L. A. M. Rossi, Mr. W. F. Duff, Mrs. Pollock and coachman.

RECAPITULATION.—48 Americans, 6 coachmen, 2 governesses, 1 courier, 1 nurse, 19 carriages, 1 saddle-horse.

No. 104.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 312.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, October 31, 1870. (Received November 25, 1870.)

SIR: I take the liberty of inclosing you herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by Count de Bismarck, in relation to the action of the government of the national defense, and in regard to the situation of Paris.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, October 29, 1870.

SIR: Having before them the resolution adopted by the government of national defense, to continue a hopeless struggle and to defend Paris as long as provisions will

last, the government of His Majesty have felt obliged to give their attention to the consequences which the carrying out of that resolution will entail upon the inhabitants of Paris, consisting, as they do, for a great part of foreigners. By a memoir communicated to foreign cabinets some weeks since, we have declined any responsibility for the sufferings to which the residents will find themselves exposed when the resources are exhausted, and when, owing to the waste laid all around Paris by order of the French Government at an extent of three or four days' marching, it will be impossible to provide the survivors with food or to transport them beyond the zone of destruction.

While sending you a translation of the said memoir, I take the liberty of earnestly calling your attention to the considerations detailed therein and bearing directly upon the interests of those American residents who, either by their condition of life or for want of means, have been obliged to remain at Paris.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your obedient servant,
BISMARCK.

His Excellency Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States.

MEMOIR.

Mr. Jules Favre and his colleagues have rejected the proposal of an armistice, the conditions of which would have afforded to France the starting-point for a return to a regular order of things. So they pronounce for the continuation of a struggle which, to judge by the march of events up to the present day, does not offer any prospect of success to the French nation. The chances of this struggle, demanding so heavy sacrifices, have constantly gone from bad to worse for France. Toul and Strasburg have fallen, Paris is strictly invested, and the German troops are extending their incursions to the banks of the Loire. The considerable forces assembled before those two fortresses are now disengaged awaiting further orders of the commander-in-chief. The country will have to undergo the consequences of a war à l'outrance resolved upon by the members of the French Government at Paris. The sacrifices of the nation will go on increasing to no purpose, and the decomposition of society will attain proportions more and more threatening. To counteract such a course of events, the leaders of the German armies are unfortunately powerless, but they carefully weigh and clearly foresee what will be the effect of the resistance proclaimed by the men in power in Paris, and they must call beforehand general attention to one point above all, the particular condition of Paris. The more important fights that have taken place before this capital till now have proved too evidently that Paris is doomed to fall after some period of longer or shorter duration. If that period should be prolonged to the day when capitulation will be necessitated by want of food, terrible effects will be produced. The destruction of railways, bridges, and canals, absurdly executed within a certain radius (of about 50 English miles) around Paris, did not arrest the progress of our armies. As far as communications are required for us, they have been restored by us. But what remains unrepainted will, even after a capitulation, interrupt the traffic between the capital and the provinces for a long time to come. In such a predicament the chiefs of the German army would find themselves in the absolute impossibility to furnish a population of nearly two millions with food, be it only for twenty-four hours. The environs of Paris would likewise, within several days' marches, be devoid of every kind of resources, including means of locomotion capable of removing the Prussians to the provinces. The inevitable consequence would be starvation of hundreds of thousands. The French rulers cannot but foresee these consequences as clearly as the leaders of the German armies, yet they leave to the latter no alternative but to follow up the struggle which is offered to them. He who brings matters to extremities of this kind will have to bear the responsibility thereof.

No. 105.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 313.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, 11 o'clock Monday night, October 31, 1870.
(Received November 25, 1870.)

SIR: I have waited till a very late hour before commencing my dispatch, which I hope to be able to start off at a very early hour to-morrow

morning. The day has been one of much excitement and interest. The arrival of M. Thiers, the disgraceful affair of Le Bourget, of yesterday, when the French permitted the Prussians to surprise them and recapture the town, and the terrible news of the fall of Metz, all conspired to create a profound excitement in Paris. It is almost impossible to get at the truth in regard to the state of affairs; but, as near as I can learn, some of the dissatisfied national guards and a crowd of the red republicans invaded the Hotel de Ville this afternoon and took the government of the National Defense prisoners. They then went to work and organized what they called the "government of the commune," and fixed upon the candidates to be elected to-morrow by a vote of the people of Paris. I inclose you a card containing a list of the names of the persons to form this new government of the red republic. I went to the Hotel de Ville at six o'clock to-night and found that it had been invaded by soldiers. The magnificent hall of the municipal council was densely packed with soldiers, singing, shouting, yelling, and speech-making. All seemed to consider that the revolution was practically accomplished, and that nothing was wanting but a vote of the people of Paris, to be taken to-morrow. I have just learned, however, that General Trochu and Jules Favre escaped early in the evening, and that they are now organizing to put down these new revolutionists. At any rate, the *gendarmerie* is everywhere beating, and gentlemen bring me the intelligence that the center of the city is literally packed with troops, and that everybody is expecting a collision to-night. My messenger is obliged to start so early in the morning, in order to meet the flag of truce, that I can give you no further intelligence before he leaves. I send you several papers, issued this evening, though dated to morrow, which you will find contain a good deal on this subject.

In all this turmoil and excitement to-day, I have not been able to find out anything in regard to the result of the mission of M. Thiers. He left at three o'clock this afternoon to return to Versailles.

I am as yet without any dispatch-bag since the one brought by General Burnside, a month ago, and, of course, without instructions from you.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Rue Condoret 47,	La Dépêche,	{ 100 Dépêches, 10 frs.
Impie, Bachy, et cie. }	N. 32.	{ 50 Dépêches, 5 frs.

Paris, le 31 Octobre 1870, 5 heures du soir. Le gouvernement de la commune est composé de MM. Dorian, Victor Hugo, Félix Pyat, Henri Rochefort, Schoelcher, Delescluze, Mottu, Bouvallet, Gaupin, Martin Bernard, Blaqui, Flourens, Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin.

No. 106.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, November 1, 1870. (Received November 8.)

SIR: The Italian government has asked, through the medium of its minister at Berlin, authorization for persons of that nationality still re-

siding at Paris to leave the city, and it has expressed the desire that the Italian consul at Paris should be informed of it.

I beg you, sir, to kindly forward this communication, adding that this permission is only accorded by the military authorities to a limited number of persons particularly recommended, and that, in order to obtain it, it will be necessary to send me previously the exact list of those persons, who, upon their departure from the city, must be furnished with papers establishing their identity.

I have the honor to inform you, at the same time, that the authorization to quit Paris has been granted exceptional to the Marchioness de Gallifet and to Madame Manara, living at 107 Faubourg Saint Honoré. I beg you will kindly give them, when they present themselves to you, passports establishing their identity.

I take advantage of this occasion to forward to you the dispatches from your government, brought from London by Colonel Forbes, and to beg you to transmit to their address the two dispatches herewith, from the governments of Sweden and Holland, to their representatives at Paris.

The dispatches which you sent me yesterday, for your colleague in England, will be forwarded to-morrow by our courier.

Please accept, sir, the repeated assurance of my high consideration,
v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 107.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, November 2, 1870.

SIR: From different sides applications of French officers being prisoners of war in Germany for exchange have reached us. We cannot accede to individual demands of this kind, but there would be no objection to a general exchange of all persons belonging to the German armies being now prisoners of war in France, officers as well as petty officers, and rank and file, against equal numbers of military men of equal station of the French army, the selection to be made according to the prior date of their captivity, eventually, by drawing lots. I shall thank your excellency for bringing the foregoing to the knowledge of Mr. Jules Favre.

Accept the renewed assurances of the very high consideration with which I remain your excellency's obedient servant,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 108.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 314.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 7, 1870. (Received December 1.)

SIR: The affair at the Hotel de Ville, of a week ago to-day, a partial account of which I gave you in my dispatch of that evening, No. 313,

was practically terminated at three o'clock on the next morning. The members of the government were guarded by military forces under the control of Flourens, Blanqui, Pyat, and others, the leaders of the revolutionary movement. General Trochu and Jules Ferry, not Jules Favre, as erroneously stated in my last dispatch, escaping early in the evening, took immediate measures to release their colleagues. The improvised revolutionary government, which held the Hotel de Ville by force during the afternoon and the first part of the night of Monday, the 31st ultimo, could hardly have been fully advised of the measures which were being taken to overthrow it. The members of this self-constituted "government of the commune" went to work giving orders in all directions, to the end to more fully possess themselves of the government. One of them sent a modest order on the minister of finance to transmit him immediately fifteen million of francs. Another order was given to seize the prefecture of police, and many orders were given concerning military operations, the forts, the gates of the city, &c. As the night wore on, the revolutionary force holding the Hotel de Ville became less and less vigilant, and about three o'clock on Tuesday morning they were completely surprised and surrounded by an overpowering force of the national guard, who had quietly and silently got into the building by various secret ways. After a long parley, and after many threats to shoot on the spot some members of the government of the national defense, the revolutionary troops finally agreed to retire from the building, leaving it in possession of the national guard and the members of the government released from their "durance vile." Blanqui, Flourens & Co. suddenly disappeared at the same moment, and, what may surprise you, not one single person engaged in all this business was arrested. This little side-show of the "government of the commune" had a precarious existence of about twelve hours, and then "vanished into thin air." The whole thing was at once astounding and ludicrous, and the papers have been filled with the incidents and history of that remarkable day, which must cut some little figure hereafter in the history of these strange times. I send you a great number of Paris journals, which will give you a more detailed history of the whole affair.

By the Journal Officiel, which I send also, you will see what has been the action of the government of the National Defense since this trouble took place. You will pass your own judgment upon its submission of itself, as the Government of France, to a vote of confidence of the people of Paris. I think the large vote of confidence which the government received was the result of a desire of vast numbers of people that it should be so strengthened that it would be enabled to make terms for an armistice. The question of such an armistice has been the great topic of conversation for the last few days, and the sentiment in favor of such an armistice as it was supposed could be had was overwhelming. There was a general belief that there would be an armistice which would finally lead to a peace, and there was quite a buoyant feeling. Yesterday morning, however, the official journal announced, to the great surprise of the Paris public, that terms for an armistice could not be agreed upon. The announcement created a profound feeling of despondency, and everybody is inquiring, "What next?" Mr. Jules Favre went out through the French military lines toward the Prussian outposts yesterday, and returned to Paris at noon to day. It is supposed that he has been engaged in a still further effort to effect the armistice.

There has been no marked change in the situation of Paris since my dispatch of a week ago. Meat has become more scarce, but the supply of vegetables and bread is abundant. I think the city would hold out

until the 1st of January if the people could see that anything were to be gained by it.

I received on Saturday evening last a package of private letters and some New York newspapers, with dates up to the 15th ultimo. This package was brought from London to Versailles by Mr. Paul S. Forbes, and was forwarded to me from Versailles by the Prussian authorities. Mr. F. left London on the 28th ultimo, and Mr. Stevens writes me that Mr. Moran declined sending any official dispatches by him. I am at a loss to divine the reason. I am, therefore, still without anything from your department since the 8th of September.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 109.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

PARIS, November 8, 1870.

SIR: You have been kind enough to transmit to me a copy of a letter under date of 7th of this month, addressed you by Mr. Thile, from Berlin, in the name of the North German Confederation, to demand the restitution of six German merchant-vessels, captured by French vessels of war, contrary to the notice published in the official journal of the 21st of July last. Mr. Thile, moreover, states that the crews of the vessels Alma and Courier, captured in Grecian waters and sent to Marseilles, had been put in the chain-gang and inhumanly treated for six weeks. In regard to the capture of the six vessels designated in the list annexed to the letter of Mr. Thile, I shall only call attention to the fact, that according to the aforesaid list, the declaration of the 21st July would not be applicable to these vessels. In fact the favorable exemption announced in that notice only affected enemies' vessels whose destination was a French port, and the six vessels in question are stated in the Prussian list as bound for neutral ports.

As to the prisoners, no information has reached me as to the treatment they have received in Marseilles, and I cannot well understand that the local authorities should have failed in the law of humanity in regard to them. I can state, with confidence, that from the beginning of the war measures were taken so that crews of captured vessels should be placed together in depots situated in the interior of France, and treated according to the general regulation for prisoners of war of the 6th May, 1859, which was made known to the Berlin cabinet in the month of August last.

Receive the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURN,

Minister of the United States, Paris.

No. 110.

Mr. Washburn to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATE,
Paris, November 10, 1870.

SIR: Mr. Jules Favre has addressed me an unofficial note, stating that a report has reached Paris that M. de Raynal, "substitut du procureur

reur de la république" at Versailles, has been arrested by the Prussian authorities. As the family of M. de Raynal feel much anxiety in regard to the matter, Mr. Favre has sought my good offices for the purpose of obtaining some information in regard to him, in order to relieve their anxiety.

Commending the matter to your consideration, I have, &c.,
E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 111.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, November 19, 1870. (Received November 21.)

SIR: I had the honor to receive the letter you kindly addressed me November 10, to inform me that Mr. Jules Favre had expressed to you unofficially the desire to obtain intelligence of the fate of Mr. de Raynal. According to the information which has reached me on this subject, his arrest was decided upon by the military authorities, because it was demonstrated by the papers seized at his house, and notes written by his hand, that he had kept up correspondence for the purpose of sending information to the enemy. He has been sent into Germany, where he will be tried by a council of war.

I take advantage of this occasion to inform you that several balloons sent recently from Paris have fallen into our hands, and that the persons sending them up will also be tried by the laws of war.

I beg you to kindly bring this fact to the knowledge of the French Government, adding that all persons who take this means of crossing our lines without authority, or of holding correspondence to the prejudice of our troops, will expose themselves, if they fall into our power, to the same treatment, which is just as applicable to them, as those who make similar attempts by the ordinary way.

Please accept, sir, the repeated assurance of my high consideration.
V. BISMARCK.

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 112.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, November 12, 1870.

SIR: Recent and repeated experience has shown that even respectable persons, in spite of the warning addressed to them before leaving Paris, and relying upon our confidence, do not hesitate to carry letters clandestinely through our lines. Nay, in several letters captured by our men indications are given to the correspondents to address the information they are desired to give in the interest of the enemy to certain

persons in Paris bearing a diplomatic character. In consequence the military authorities, as they had reserved themselves the right to do from day to day, have resolved upon not granting any more permissions to leave Paris. This decision of course does not affect individual permissions already granted. The military authorities, upon my representation, have besides consented to allow those persons to pass who, up to the present day, have applied either directly or by the interposition of their embassies. The categories comprise—

1. The persons belonging to the embassies of the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden.

2. Certain citizens of the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy, enumerated in the inclosed lists, A, B, C, D, together with a number of Englishmen indicated in a supplementary list, E.

3. The persons belonging to other nationalities who are enumerated in the list F.

The inclosed letters, addressed to the representatives of the Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden, are to inform them accordingly, requesting them at the same time to tell their countrymen that they will be searched by our outposts, and if letters, parcels, or communications whatsoever should be found concealed with them they will be tried by court-martial. Your excellency, on delivering passports to them, as well as to the persons included in the list F, will be good enough to repeat such intimation and certify that this has been done.

Trusting to your benevolence, I beg you will be kind enough to have the persons comprised in list F informed that they will be permitted to pass; to forward the inclosed letter to No. 8 and 11, and to Mr. Bangé (Farouk Khan having already received permission to withdraw from Paris); lastly, to send word to Madame Zück Rollin (No. 10) that her husband is waiting her arrival here.

I need hardly add that it will be impossible for you in future to grant any more passports to anybody, Central and South Americans not excepted.

The military authorities having peremptorily refused to allow anybody to enter Paris, I am, to my great regret, for the moment, unable to give effect to the permission held out to Col. Frank Moore before the recent change of circumstances. I have telegraphed to that effect to Brussels.

Have you got any information posterior to your letter of the 21st of October as to the number and condition of Germans detained in prison?

With the present letter I forward two dispatch-bags arrived from London; your bag has been duly sent to your agent there.

I have, &c.

V. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 113.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 14, 1870.

SIR: Referring again to your dispatch of the 21st instant, I regret to learn that persons bearing my certificate have violated the confidence

reposed in them, and have been carrying letters through your military lines. I took not only the precaution you suggested of advising the bearers of the certificate what was required of them, but I exacted that each person should sign a parole, the form of which I think I sent you. I sincerely trust it will not be found that any of my own countrymen are in the category to which you refer, but if they are, let the full judgment of military law fall upon them. Your letter was received at so late an hour to-day that I cannot give you the further information you desire in regard to the Germans in prison in Paris. I think, however, I have got them all out. Numbers are now coming every day to my legation seeking pecuniary aid, and who have been reduced to the greatest misery. A benevolent clergyman brought me to-day a list of thirty-seven of these people, utterly without the means of supporting themselves. Were it not for the means your government has so generously placed at my disposal, their suffering would be incredible.

I have, &c.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 114.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, November 19, 1870. (Received November 21.)

SIR: I hasten to inform you, in answer to the letter which you did me the honor to address me on the 14th November, asking authorization to give passports to twenty-four of your countrymen who had already applied to you, that the military authorities have consented to it, exceptionally in consideration of this circumstance, and that orders have been given that these persons may cross our lines on the Creteil route if they present themselves furnished with passports delivered by you.

I have the honor to transmit herewith a bag of dispatches which has arrived from London to your address.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

V. BISMARCK.

Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 115.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 321.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 18, 1870. (Received December 1st.)

SIR: I was in hopes before this time to have made to you a full and complete report of my action as connected with the protection of the subjects of the North German Confederation, Saxony, Hesse Grand Ducal, and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in France, with which I had been

S. Ex. 24—7

charged, during the existing war between those powers and France. But as my duties still continue, I cannot now make a final report, which would have to embrace my account with the Prussian Government.

In the account for the contingent expenses of this legation, for the quarter ending on the 30th of September last, I have not included any of the items of expenditure pertaining to that business, for the reason that such expenses run into the present quarter, and that it would be better to have them all put into one account. I hope at the end of the present quarter to be able to include everything. I will state, however, for your general information, that such expenses so far scarcely reach a thousand dollars. These expenses, already paid and to be paid, independent of certain amounts to which I will hereafter allude, will not reach more than fifteen hundred dollars. All the items will be given in detail, and I hope the amount will not be regarded as extravagant when the extent of the service is considered. I was glad to know that the Department coincided with Mr. Bancroft and myself in the opinion that all these expenses should be paid by the United States. It would certainly have been unworthy of a great government like ours to permit itself to be paid for hospitalities extended to the subjects of other nations for whom our protection had been sought.

When, in accordance with your directions, in July last, I took upon myself the protection of the German subjects in France, I had but a faint idea of what the undertaking was going to involve, for I had hardly supposed it possible that I would be charged with the care and with the superintendence of the departure of more than thirty thousand people expelled from their homes upon so short a notice. From the time of the breaking out of the war, and as soon as it became known that the Germans had been placed under my protection, you can well imagine, considering so large a population, what would take place in that exciting period. The legation began to be crowded from day to day by persons desiring protection, advice, information, and assistance. Many were thrown into prison, charged with being "Prussian spies," many were under arrest as dangerous persons, and the lives and property of others were threatened in their neighborhood. My good offices were sought for and cheerfully rendered in all such cases, and I believe I never failed in accomplishing all I undertook in such emergencies. The first extraordinary order of the French Government, prohibiting all such Germans from leaving France who might by possibility owe military service, and about which I had so long a correspondence with the Duke de Grammont, created great alarm among a large number of them, who were extremely anxious to get away. The practical operation of that order prevented any German from leaving French territory without special authority to that end first had and obtained from the minister of the interior, and all applications for such authority had to be made through me; and after all this was changed, and the expulsion of the Germans decreed, it was required that I should visé the passports, or give a *laissez-passer* to every German leaving France.

I have spoken of thirty thousand as the number of Germans placed under my protection, and who were expelled from France. I make this estimate from the number of visas and passports which I gave out, and that number, as recorded in the legation, amounts to eight thousand nine hundred. In the rush and hurry of business there was no record made in many cases, and it is entirely safe to say that the whole number of visas and passports going through the legation amounted to not less than nine thousand; the larger number of these passports included the husband, wife, and children. It is a moderate estimate to say that

there was an average of three and one-third persons to each passport. That would make the thirty thousand souls.

We issued our own cards, which, by an arrangement with the railroad company, entitled the holder to a railroad ticket from Paris, through Belgium, to the German frontier, for nine thousand three hundred and thirty-two persons, and gave pecuniary assistance to a smaller number. This involved an examination of each person as to his or her want of the necessary means to get out of the country, for our instructions were not to make advances to people who had the means to pay their own expenses. It also involved the necessity of sending two or three persons from the legation to the railroad depot every night, in order to see that the holders of the cards received their railroad tickets and were properly sent off.

It was about the middle of August when the expulsion of the Germans from Paris began to be enforced and when I received the credit of fifty thousand thalers from the Prussian Government to assist them. From that time to the middle of September, when the Northern Railroad was cut, we were literally overwhelmed with these poor people, seeking the visas of their passports and the means of getting away. For days, and I may even say for weeks, the street was completely blocked up by them awaiting their turns to be attended to. On one day more than five hundred had gathered in front of the legation before seven o'clock in the morning; and in some days there were not less than from twenty-five hundred to three thousand persons in waiting. It took a police force of six men to keep the crowd back and keep the door open, so that the people could enter in their turn. With such an amount of work so suddenly thrown upon the legation, I found it almost impossible to get the necessary help to assist me, though authorized by the Department to employ the requisite force. I was fortunate in being able to procure the services of the secretaries of the Saxon and Darmstadt legations, and of the clerk of the Prussian consul-general in Paris, all of whom proved invaluable, from their knowledge of both the French and German languages. I had also the benefit of the services rendered voluntarily by your son, by Mr. Eustis, and by several other friends. Some days there were no less than eleven persons engaged at the legation, but with all the force we had it was impossible to keep up with the demands upon us.

And in further connection with this matter, I now beg leave to make a suggestion. I have stated what will be the probable amount of the expense actually paid out and to be paid out of the contingent fund. In my judgment that amount should be added to. The extra duties which have been devolved upon the two secretaries and the messenger of the legation have been arduous and responsible, and certainly such as had never been contemplated. Their duties have been discharged with a zeal and fidelity worthy of all praise. I think, therefore, in justice, that they are entitled to some extra compensation, and I hope it may be granted to them. I say this the more readily as I disclaim anything of the kind for myself. My salary is ample, and I would wish no extra compensation on any pretext whatever. Not so with the persons to whom I refer, for their salaries are low. When the extra and exceptional services they have rendered and the vastly increased prices of living consequent upon the siege are considered, I do not think a claim for extra compensation on their behalf can be considered as unreasonable. I shall hope, therefore, that Congress will consent that you shall allow Wickham Hoffman, the first secretary of legation, \$600; Frank Moore, the second secretary of legation, \$500; Antoine Schmidt, the

messenger of the legation, \$300; and Antoine Roger, the concierge (who had to guard the door fourteen hours a day for two months), \$100. These amounts, added to the expenses already incurred and to be incurred in this behalf, will not reach more than \$3,000, which is not half the amount I have taken for passports since the war broke out, and which the state of war obliged our countrymen to have.

I will add a few observations in regard to the present condition of the Germans in Paris at the present time who are under my protection. Considering the large German population here prior to the breaking out of the war, it is not a matter of wonder that a good many were found here when all communication was finally cut off. When it became evident that the city was to be besieged, I redoubled my exertions to get these unfortunate people away. Deprived of all work, their little resources exhausted, the intense hostility of the French people toward them, bad as their condition was, it was to become infinitely worse in case of a siege. Many were in prison for vagabondage, and many were detained charged with being spies, dangerous persons, &c. Upon my application to Mr. Gambetta, he concerted with the Count de Kératry, the prefect of police, for their discharge *en masse*, and for sending them, at the expense of the French Government, to the Belgian frontier. But quite a number yet remained. Many were too old and infirm to leave. Some were sick, some were children left behind who had been put out to service; but perhaps the larger number were female domestics, most of whom had been persuaded by their employers to remain, under pledges of protection. But as the siege progressed and the price of living augmented, many of these persons, discharged by their employers or denounced to the authorities, were turned into the street, only to be arrested and imprisoned. In one of the prisons, which I visited some three or four weeks since, I found seventy-four persons of this class. I arranged for the release of most of them, and have had them comfortably cared for, and with the promise of the French authorities that they shall be protected. There are others yet in prison, and I hope soon to complete an arrangement for the release of all who do not stand charged with some criminal offense. Not a day passes now that there is not some new application for assistance. I have now one hundred and fifty that I am providing for. From the Prussian fund still remaining in my hands, I think I have sufficient to take care of them till the end of the siege.

In conclusion, I beg to say that the duties imposed upon me in virtue of the functions with which I have been charged in this regard have been laborious, responsible, and delicate, and it is perhaps too much to expect that I have discharged them in a manner entirely satisfactory to both the belligerent powers and to my own government. My position has sometimes been very embarrassing. None of the writers on public law, so far as I have been able to find, have laid down any rule to be observed, or refer in any manner as to what is proper to be done by the representative of a neutral power charged with the protection of the subjects of one belligerent power remaining in the country of the enemy during a state of war. I have had, therefore, to grope somewhat in the dark and do the best I could. I have not shrank from any duty or any labor. During two months I was occupied every day from twelve to eighteen hours. When the pressure for the departure of the Germans was the greatest, I went myself to the railroad depot at night, after working all day at my legation, and remained till midnight to superintend their departure and to seek out and provide for cases of extreme destitution that had not been made known. You will permit me to say

that whatever services I have been able to render have been rendered most willingly and most cheerfully, for, with the means so generously placed at my disposal by the Prussian Government, I have had the satisfaction of relieving a vast amount of suffering and misery. It is pleasant to know that no complaint of any German has ever reached this legation of a failure on my part to do everything that could properly be done by me in respect of protection, advice, or assistance. On the other hand, all classes have signified to me their thankfulness and gratitude for what I have been able to do for them.

I will only add further, in closing this dispatch, that during the period about which I have been writing the business properly belonging to our legation was increased to an extent never before known, and I have endeavored faithfully and satisfactorily to discharge all the duties I owed to my government, and to our countrymen abroad who have in any manner sought my good offices, protection, or advice.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 116.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, November 19, 1870. (Received November 21.)

SIR: You kindly informed me by your letters of the 12th and 14th November that several Italian, Spanish, and Roumanian subjects, of whom a list was annexed, desired to obtain permission to leave Paris.

Referring to my letter of the 12th November, I beg you to inform those persons through the medium of their representatives at Paris, that the military authorities no longer give permission to any one to cross our lines, and that it is impossible for me at this time to obtain an exception in their favor.

I will be much obliged to you if you will send a similar communication to the proprietor of the Splendide Hotel, Place de l'Opera, who has addressed to me the same request.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

Mr. WASHBURNE,

Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 117.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 323.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 21, 1870. (Received December 12.)

SIR: The official dispatches from you, which came in the bag that arrived this morning, are acknowledged in another communication. By the bag that will leave to-morrow morning I cannot send you anything of much interest pertaining to military or political events. In fact, there have been no military movements for several weeks, and since the mis-

erable affair at the Hotel de Ville of the 31st ultimo, nothing of particular interest has taken place in the city. Everything is quiet even to dullness. The reported advantage gained by the French at Orleans has done much to encourage the Parisians, and there is a disposition now manifested to hold out to the last. Yet, should there be news of disaster, all may change, and the siege may be raised before this reaches you. We remain in ignorance for a long time as to what is going on in the outside world. No newspapers get into Paris except those that come to this legation. Our last London dates are of the 10th instant. The latest New York papers are of the 29th ultimo.

The people are suffering their privations with a good deal of fortitude. If they could be made to believe that France could be saved they would suffer to the last extremity. As it is, I can see no prospect of the siege being raised in any way. I shall not be as much surprised in seeing the city now hold out till January as I have been already in seeing it hold out so long as it has. There has been no *real pinch* up to within a short time, but now things are getting to be a little hard. Fresh meat, including horse and mule, is very nearly exhausted. Poultry, butter, cheese, &c., are about out of the question. A turkey sells for sixteen dollars, a chicken for five dollars. Butter sells for four dollars a pound. There is yet quite a quantity of vegetables, but at high prices. The price of bread is fixed by law, and it has not raised much. Wine is abundant and cheap. The time is not far distant when the great mass of the people of Paris must live on bread and wine almost entirely.

No members of the diplomatic corps have left for several weeks, and I believe that those who are now here propose to remain to the end. No foreigners at all are now leaving Paris.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 118.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, November 21, 1870.

SIR: I had the honor to write you a week ago that I thought I had nearly all the Germans out of prison. That statement would have been very nearly true two weeks ago.

But after I received your letter of the 12th instant, I caused a further inquiry to be made, and I now find that there have been about a hundred Germans arrested and put into prison within the last two weeks. Though I have been diligently at work for a week, I have only got the list at noon to-day, and have not been able to look it over. I shall to-morrow cause an examination to be made, and shall take such steps in regard to the parties imprisoned as may seem to be proper. The list I inclose herewith will show to you the number of Germans I am taking care of. The funds I have on hand I believe are ample to meet all the expenditures I shall be called upon to make.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency Count de BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 119.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, November 28, 1870.

SIR: The minister of war has sent me, and I have the honor to transmit to you, a list of the German prisoners of war held in Paris up to the 24th of the present month. I shall be very much obliged if you will transmit this document to the Prussian Government, and also repeat the request formerly made by the intermediary of Lord Loftus for a list of the French prisoners of war in Germany.

You will also find herewith a sealed package containing certain articles and papers which belonged to Mr. Jacholing, Gustave Librech, chasseur of the second company of the eleventh battalion, killed at the advance post before Vincennes. I shall be thankful if you can take measures to send this package to the family of the deceased, who was born the 1st March, 1849, at Bonney (government of Magdebourg).

Receive, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States, at Paris.

No. 120.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 325.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 3, 1870. (Received December 30.)

SIR: I have received both from Mr. Motley and Mr. Bancroft a copy of your telegraphic dispatch of the 15th ultimo, in which you state that the President instructs you to say that whenever General Read and myself, or either of us, desire to leave Paris, we are at liberty to do so, going to "Tours and communicating with the proper officials there." I have communicated the message to General Read, and we are both very grateful to the President and yourself for your kindness in this regard.

The dispatch leaves it discretionary with me to remain in Paris, or go out and repair to Tours. It is, therefore, for me to determine what, in my judgment, the interests of my government requires, and what my duty is in the premises. If I were shut off from all communication with you it might be important that I should leave here in order to hold intercourse with you. Such is not, however, the case at present, for I am now enabled to send dispatches to you and receive them from you once each week, which is as much as I would be likely to do were I at Tours. That being the case, the question for me to decide is, where can I be of the most service, in Paris or in Tours? I have no doubt on that subject, and great as my desire is to get out of this besieged city and to join my family, from whom I have been so long separated, I consider it my duty to remain here, at least for the present. Paris is the seat of government of the country to which I am accredited, and is the seat of the present provisional government of the national defense, which has been duly recognized by the United States. And here is also the minister of foreign affairs, with whom I have to be more or less in com-

munication. There are yet remaining in Paris some one hundred and fifty Americans, many of whom have been unable, for various reasons, to get away, and some of whom have remained here because I have remained.

The French Government having heretofore given them every opportunity for leaving, which they did not take advantage of, now declines, for military reasons, to permit the people of any nationality to leave Paris. Therefore, my countrymen now here all look to me for a certain protection, and they would much regret to see me go away, leaving them behind. There is also a large amount of American property in Paris under my protection, and circumstances may arise when it might become important for me to be here.

Independently of what belongs to our own legation, I am more or less occupied every day with the affairs of the North German Confederation. I am now furnishing three hundred and forty-one poor Germans pecuniary assistance, and the number is increasing every day. It is impossible for the messenger of the legation to attend to them all, and I have had to employ a man specially for that purpose.

Under all the circumstances, therefore, I think my determination to remain at my post will meet with the approval of the President and yourself.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 121.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 327.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 3, 1870. (Received December 30.)

SIR: I have the honor to inclose you herewith a copy of a letter addressed by me to Mr. Jules Favre, on the subject of a tax which the city authorities have sought to impose upon the apartments of such persons as had left Paris for any other cause except that of the public service. Mr. Favre concurs with me in the opinion that the tax cannot be properly levied on the apartments of foreigners, and that the municipal authorities will not attempt to enforce it as against our countrymen. If they do he promises to bring the matter before the government.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Favre.

LÉGATION DES ÉTATS-UNIS,
Paris, November 23, 1870.

SIR: Your excellency is aware that before the breaking out of the war a large number of my countrymen were living in Paris and occupying apartments. But when the government issued a notice, through the official journal, "that the interest of the defense demands that those persons *not able to oppose the enemy* should leave Paris," the greater portion of them obeyed the request. On the 7th of September last, a decree was issued putting a graduated tax (according to the rent paid) on all apartments of people who had left Paris for any other cause except that of the "public service." This decree attracted my attention at the time it was issued, but I supposed it could only refer to French citizens who owed an obligation to the French Government, and whose duty it was to remain in Paris, and not to citizens of the United

States, who, as citizens of a friendly and neutral power, could not be called upon to "oppose the enemy."

I am surprised to learn, however, that the municipal administration of the city has construed the decree of the 7th of September as applying to *all foreigners* in Paris who had gone out of the city, leaving their apartments vacant, instead of confining it to those persons whose nationality imposed upon them the duty of remaining in the capital. The most cursory examination of the question by your excellency will show to you the hardship and inconsistency of this view of the city authorities. My countrymen, who could not be called upon "to make face to the enemy," were invited by the government to leave Paris. They accordingly departed and left their apartments vacant, but charging me with the general protection thereof. If they had remained here as "*bouches inutiles*" and occupied their apartments, in opposition to the expressed wish of the government, no assessment would have been levied upon them; but as they *left* in obedience to the invitation of the government, it is now sought to impose on them a penalty.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I think your excellency will agree with me that the enforcement of such a penalty would be in contravention of those principles of natural justice which lie at the foundation of all good governments.

I take this occasion to assure your excellency of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be

Your excellency's obedient servant,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 122.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 328.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 5, 1870. (Received December 30.)

SIR: For military reasons the authorities were obliged to decline giving me a "*parlementaire*" for last Tuesday morning, the 29th ultimo, to take my dispatches to the Prussian outposts. I now hope to have one for to-morrow morning; and if so, my dispatches will only be one week behind. I received a bag from London last Tuesday afternoon, with London papers up to the 18th, and New York papers up to the 3d ultimo. I was disappointed, however, in getting nothing whatever from the department.

Military operations around the walls of Paris began in earnest on Tuesday, the 29th ultimo. There was heavy fighting on Wednesday, the 30th ultimo, and on Friday, the 2d of December. Though I could hear these battles raging distinctly from the windows of the legation, I am unable to give you any particular information in regard to them. As a movement to break through the Prussian lines, it was a failure; as a fight, the French claim an advantage. As the newspapers are forbidden to say anything, and as the official journal does only vouchsafe to us a few solemn official lines, we are utterly in the dark as to the real results of the fighting which actually took place. No statement has yet appeared of the losses of the French in killed, wounded, prisoners, missing, &c. I do not know that I can do anything more, or anything better, than to send you all that has appeared in the official journal in regard to military matters during the last week. The results of the battles, such as they are, and the news received from the provinces during the last week, have done much to inspirit the people of Paris. The *morale* of both people and soldiers has greatly improved. I do not think the prospects for a successful sortie are very good, and unless it is understood that the armies which are supposed to exist in the provinces have been substantially annihilated, the siege may yet last for a long time. At present the authority of the government is supreme, and all Paris is confronting its sufferings with fortitude and courage. But no

one can tell how soon this may all change. The weather is now excessively cold for the season, and the privations of the people are very great.

Another sortie is talked of very soon, and if it takes place as is expected, you will hear of it long before this dispatch will reach you.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 123.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 5, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose you herewith a list of the names of all the persons belonging to the nationalities at present at war with France, and who are now imprisoned in Paris. They are not charged with any crime, but have been arrested for being found here after they had been ordered to leave, and for being without means of existence.

Their situation is miserable enough, but they are treated, perhaps, as well as could be expected, when you take into consideration the existing state of things in Paris. If they were released they would have to be subsisted by this legation, and then they would have to be exposed to the hostility of the people of the city. I await instructions in this regard. The number of poor Germans applying for pecuniary assistance at my legation is increasing every day. It has now reached two hundred and thirteen families, and, including children, there are four hundred and ninety-six souls.

I now have to employ a man specially to look after them. A great number of these people, reluctant to leave their homes and not supposing that hostilities could last long, determined to remain in Paris, keeping themselves mostly out of sight. They have now, however, exhausted all their means and eaten their last morsel. As a last resource they came to me to relieve their absolute necessities. Without the assistance I render them, through the generosity of your government, they would inevitably starve. I have as yet ample means in my hands for the present emergencies, but I do not know how many more will apply to me, and how long I shall have to support them.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK, &c., &c., &c.

No. 124.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, December 10, 1870.

SIR: You were kind enough to communicate to me on the 8th of last month the copy of a letter from the Count de Bismarck, offering a general exchange of all the persons belonging to the German armies who are at present prisoners in France, against a like number of French soldiers of equal rank. Following the mode proposed, the exchange

should be effected by commencing, as nearly as possible, with those who have been longest in captivity, and deciding by lot when the circumstances will not admit of applying this rule.

I have advised with my colleagues, the ministers of war and of marine, and I hasten to inform you that we accept the proposition of the confederation. It will be understood that the sailors taken in the commercial vessels captured by our naval forces will participate in the proposed exchange, the captains being treated upon the same footing as lieutenants and sublieutenants.

I am not able to give the total number of prisoners of the different categories actually in our power. It would be necessary to advise with the delegation of the government sitting at Tours in regard to this, and, in all probability, Mr. de Bismarck would not refuse to facilitate the communication necessary to arrive at an understanding.

I profit of this occasion to ask that you will call the attention of the Count de Bismarck to the demand which has heretofore been addressed to the Prussian Government by the intermediary of the English embassy relative to Mr. Dubone, sublieutenant of the fifty-seventh regiment of infantry, wounded in the thigh at the engagement of the 18th of August, and amputated at the Prussian ambulance of Jérusalem (commune of St. Privat la Montagne, canton and arrondissement of Briez, department of the Moselle).

The gravity of the wound of this officer makes it just to return him without exchange, according to the 36th article of the Prussian regulations in regard to prisoners of war, and the 6th article of the convention of Geneva.

Receive, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 125.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, Sunday, December 11, 1870.

SIR, AND VERY DEAR MINISTER: I have the honor to bring to your notice a fact to which I beg you will call the attention of the Count de Bismarck. I am sure he will recognize that the reclamation is just in every particular. The president of the international society for aiding the wounded has informed me that on Thursday, the 2d December, one of the chaplains of our ambulances, the Abbé Bouquet, vicaire at St. Germain des Près, in pursuing his charitable mission on the heights of Champigny, was taken and retained by the Prussians.

The Abbé Bouquet wore the badge and had his certificate of identity. He was therefore protected by the German convention and by the laws of war, and I shall be glad to learn that the Prussian authorities, being informed of these facts, will hasten to liberate the Abbé Bouquet.

Kindly receive, sir, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

No. 126.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Bancroft.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 12, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 22d ultimo. Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to serve our Danish friends, and I will go and see the Danish minister here as soon as I am able to leave my house, to which I am confined by the *Paris grippe*.

I fear, however, nothing can be done, as the military authorities on both sides are unwilling to permit anybody to leave these gay and festive scenes.

It seems impossible for me to avail myself of the permission of the President to leave Paris.

There are so many of our country people here who are leaning on me, and so much American property to look after; and then I have a great deal to do as the protector of the Germans—I am furnishing pecuniary aid to six hundred—and who would starve were it not for the generosity of the Prussian Government.

I hope for an *end* sometime—but *when?*

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Mr. BANCROFT.

No. 127.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 332.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 12, 1870. (Received January 4, 1871.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a translation from the "Journal Officiel" of December 8 of the government report of the battle of Villiers, and of the military movements immediately connected therewith.

I am, &c., *

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

[From the Official Journal, December 8, 1870.]

The late sorties made by the army of Paris on the 29th and 30th of November, and on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of December, led to engagements on most of the points of the enemy's lines of investment.

On the evening of the 28th of November operations commenced.

To the east, the plateau of Avron was occupied by the seamen of Admiral Taineat at 8 o'clock, supported by the division of Hugues; a powerful artillery of pieces of long range was placed in battery on this plateau, threatening, at a great distance, the positions of the enemy, and the roads used by their convoys at Gaguy, Chelles, and Gournay.

To the west, in the peninsula of Gennevilliers, earth-works were begun under the direction of General de Liniers; the batteries were armed anew, gabions were placed, and rifle-pits dug in the islands of Marante, of Bezons, and on the railroad to Rouen.

The next day General de Beaumont ended the operations on the west side, making a reconnaissance toward Buzenval and the heights of Maisons, resting on his right, which joined the troops of General de Lignières in front of Bezons.

The 29th at daybreak the troops of the third army, under General Vinoy, made a sortie on Thiais, Illay, and Choisy-le-Roi, and the fire of the forts was directed on several points remarked as selected for the concentration of the enemy's troops.

Movements executed during the two preceding days had filled the plain of Aubervilliers with numerous forces, and united the three corps of the second army under the orders of General Ducrot, on the banks of the Marne.

The 30th November, at the break of day, bridges, prepared out of sight of the enemy, were thrown across the Marne near Nogent and Joinville, and the two first corps of the second army, led by Generals Blanchard and Renault, rapidly effected the passage of the river with all their artillery. The success of this movement had been secured by a sustained fire of artillery from the batteries of position placed on the right bank of the Marne at Nogent, at Ferreux, at Joinville, and in the peninsula of Saint-Maur.

At nine o'clock, these two corps d'armée attacked the village of Champigny, the wood of the Plant, and the nearest portions of the plateau of Villiers. At eleven o'clock, all these positions were carried, and intrenchments were already commenced by the troops of the second army, when the enemy made a vigorous forward movement, supported by fresh batteries of artillery. At this moment our losses were serious; in front of Champigny, the Prussian pieces in position at Chennegyères and at Gouilly forced back the columns of the first corps, while a heavy infantry force, descending from the intrenchments of Villiers, charged the troops of General Renault. At this point it was owing to the vigorous efforts of the artillery under the command of Generals Prudent and Boissacot that the advance of the enemy was checked.

Thanks to the changes made in our batteries, the Prussian artillery was partly dismounted, and our men, led to the charge by General Ducrot, took final possession of the crests.

During these operations, the third corps, under the orders of General d'Exas, advanced to the valley of the Marne as far as Neuilly-sur-Marne and Ville-Evrard. Bridges were thrown across the Petit-Bry, and Bry-sur-Marne was attacked and occupied by Bellenger's division. Its advance, delayed by the passage of the river, was continued beyond the village as far as the slopes of the plateau of Villiers, and the efforts of its columns aided in taking possession of the crests effected by the second corps in front of Villiers. In the evening our bivouac fires extended over all the hill-sides of the left bank of the Marne, while those of our reserve blazed on the slopes of Nogent and Fontenay.

The same day, November 3, the division of Bussiere, supported by a strong reserve of the "bataillons de marche" of the National Guard, advanced in front of Creteil and carried the positions of Meslay and Montmeslay, which they occupied till evening. This diversion on the right of the operations of the second army was supported by fresh sorties, made on the left bank of the Seine, towards Choisy-le-Roi and Thiais, by the troops of General Vinoy.

To the north, Admiral Le Roux, supported by the artillery of his forts, occupied Drancy and the farm of Grosley in the plain of Aubervilliers; strong bodies of the enemy were thus drawn to the banks of the rivulet, the Morde, behind the bridge of Bihorel. Toward two o'clock, the admiral passed through Saint-Denis, and, at the head of fresh troops, directed an attack on Epinay, which our soldiers, supported by the batteries of the peninsula of Gouilly, successfully occupied.

The 1st December there were only some skirmishes of sharpshooters at the beginning of the day in front of the positions of the second army; the fire of the plateau of Avron continued to distract the movements of the enemy at Chelles and at Ourouvre, as he concentrated his troops in large numbers (at night particularly), with a view to bring up fresh forces behind the positions of Gouilly and of Villiers.

December 2, before day, the fresh forces, thus concentrated, attacked the positions of the army of General Ducrot; on the whole line the attack was made suddenly and unexpectedly upon the advanced posts of the three corps d'armée, from Champigny as far as Bry-sur-Marne.

The effort of the enemy failed; supported by a considerable force of artillery, our troops, notwithstanding the losses they sustained, opposed the most solid resistance. The fight was long and terrible. Our batteries checked the advance of the Prussian columns on the plateau; at 11 o'clock the efforts of the enemy were entirely defeated. At 4 o'clock the fire ceased, and we remained masters of the field of battle. The 3d of December, without the enemy being able to harass our retreat, aided by the fog, 100,000 of the second army recrossed the Marne, leaving the Prussian army to carry off its dead.

Our losses on these several days were—

Officers:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Second army	61	301
Third army	8	22
Army corps of Saint Denis	3	19
	—	—
	72	342
	—	—

Soldiers:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Second army	711	4,098
Third army	192	364
Army corps of Saint Denis	33	218
	—	—
	936	4,680
	—	—

Résumé.

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	72	342
Soldiers	936	4,680
	—	—
	1,008	*5,022

A detailed report addressed to the minister of war will be published hereafter. The losses of the enemy were very considerable; they are in proportion to the efforts he made to carry our positions. Overwhelmed by a formidable artillery fire on all points where he showed himself, our projectiles reached his most distant reserves. In addition, officers, prisoners of war, have stated that several regiments were annihilated by the fire of our infantry in front of Champigny.

By order.

SCHMITZ,
General Chief of Staff.

No. 128.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 335.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 12, 1870. (Received January 4, 1871.)

SIR: Since my dispatch of one week ago to-day, No. 328, no events of any importance have transpired in Paris. The extreme cold weather of the last week has prevented any military operations about the city. It is said that preparations are going on for another sortie, and, if the weather be favorable, that it is likely to take place the last of this week. In the Paris journals that I have the honor to transmit you herewith, you will find the correspondence between Moltke and Trochu, which will explain itself. The news of the defeat of the army of the Loire, and the retaking of Orleans, as communicated by Moltke, seems to have made but a very little impression on the people of Paris. General Trochu has been fully sustained in his refusal to send an officer to verify the facts, as suggested by Moltke. The government of the National Defense and the people of Paris seem to have abandoned all idea of an armistice, or of a peace, and to have made up their minds to resist to the last extremity, and until every resource is exhausted. There are various opinions as to the length of time the city can hold out. Yesterday there was a great bread panic, but it is allayed to-day by the announcement in the official journal that there is bread enough, and that there is no necessity of any rationing for the present. I think

* It is to be observed that in this number of wounded soldiers are included at least one-third slightly wounded, not sent to hospital.

the prevailing opinion is that it is possible for the city to hold out until the 1st of February, but that must be guess-work to a very considerable extent. A good many people think that the provisions will give out suddenly, to be followed by an irresistible clamor for a surrender. We shall see. You may infer from what I have written that I do not expect to see the siege raised by a successful sortie. Everything seems almost as bad as can be for the people of Paris as well as France. The suffering in the city is much aggravated by the extreme and unseasonable cold weather. The mortality last week was frightful, over two thousand. A great many old people and a great many children perish from the want of suitable food and from the cold.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 129.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 14, 1870. (Received December 20.)

SIR: After the combats of the 2d of December near Champigny, Mr. de Lorenz, second lieutenant in the one hundred and eighth regiment of Saxon Chasseurs, had disappeared, and it has been impossible to ascertain what has become of him.

At the instance of his family, whose anxiety I would be glad to be able to appease, I beg that you will kindly take steps to ascertain if Mr. de Lorenz is found among the prisoners, if he has been wounded, and, if he is wounded, whether his wound is dangerous.

Please to accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 130.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 15, 1870. (Received December 20.)

SIR: I had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th of November, with the inclosed list of German prisoners of war held in Paris.

In relation to the desire expressed by Mr. Jules Favre to obtain in exchange a list of the French prisoners of war confined in Germany, I have had to consult in the first place with my colleague, the minister of war. It appears from a communication which he has just sent me on this subject that the names alone would require about 3,000 sheets, that is 12,000 pages of writing, at the rate of 25 to 30 names per page; a labor, therefore, which would take much time, and could not be completed within some months.

The Government of the King will be entirely willing to send him,

whenever he shall express the desire, the information which is at its disposition in regard to French prisoners of war confined in Germany who may be designated by him for that purpose.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 131.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 15, 1870.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 3d of December with its inclosures in relation to the arrest of M. de Raynal.

After making new inquiries on this subject of the military authorities, I can only confirm what I had the honor to say to you in my letter of the 19th of December, that M. de Raynal brought this measure upon himself by clandestine correspondence which he kept up, not only with Paris, but also with Tours.

It appears, besides, from information which comes to me in regard to this affair, that M. de Raynal is confined at Minden, and that orders have been given to allow him all the facilities compatible with his position. Nothing prevents his father, therefore, from sending him assistance in money.

Please to accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 132.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 18, 1870. (Received December 20.)

SIR: You were so obliging as to send me with your letter of the 10th of December a copy of a communication from Mr. Jules Favre, of date the 10th of this month, in which he informs you of the resolution of the French Government to accept the proposition contained in my letter of the 8th of December, in relation to a general exchange of prisoners of war, on condition, however, that the sailors of the German commercial marine captured by the French naval forces shall participate in the exchange in question.

I have the honor to inform you that the King's government finds itself obliged, to its regret, to decline the proposition in the terms formulated by M. Jules Favre.

I have already protested in a note of date the 4th of October last,

addressed to the delegation of the French Government at Tours, against the proceedings employed with regard to the German sailors of the commercial marine, pointing out the fact that by their condition they are foreign to the military operations, and that the French Government goes beyond its rights in holding them as prisoners of war. In his reply of the 28th of October, the Count de Chaudordy claimed to justify this mode of action by arguments drawn from the ancient maritime ordinances of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries, the stipulations of which are in flagrant contradiction with the principles of modern civilization, alleging that our sailors of the commercial marine should not be considered as disconnected with military operations, our laws permitting them to be called into the active service at any moment. These arguments were answered by me in a note addressed to the delegation of the French Government at Tours on the 16th of November, which remains as yet without reply.

I pointed out particularly that if the mere possibility of being called into the service established in the eyes of the French Government the right to hold as prisoners of war peaceable citizens who were solely occupied with their trade, we would have an incontestable right, and one much better founded, to seize every Frenchman who fell into our power—all French citizens, without exception, under forty-five years of age, being called into the service. The King's government can only adhere to this view, which seems in all respects well founded, and which will not permit it to surrender, in exchange for peaceable citizens whose captivity is in contradiction with the principles of modern law, officers and subalterns called to render active and immediate service in the French army. In giving up an equal number of French citizens arrested and confined in Germany as hostages for the safety of the sailors of the commercial marine, it believes that it offers a just equivalent for their liberation.

If the government of the National Defense persists in making the participation of the sailor a condition of the exchange of prisoners of war, it is necessary to renounce an agreement on this measure, and the King's government will confine itself to arresting in all the French cities, as they are occupied by our troops, the principal inhabitants, who will be treated as prisoners of war, and will undergo the same fate as our sailors of the commercial marine unjustly retained as captives in France.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States at Paris.

No. 133.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 338.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 19, 1870. (Received January 14, 1871.)

SIR: There have been no military movements in or about Paris for the last week, and since my dispatch No. 335; but, on the other hand, the greatest quiet has prevailed. It now seems to be well understood that another sortie is to be attempted day after to-morrow, the result of which you will learn long before this reaches you. There is not the

least indication of yielding on the part of the people of Paris, and I see no reason to change the opinion I have hitherto expressed, that the city may hold out until the 1st of February. The surrender appears inevitable, and now only a question of weeks. Peace is regarded by every one as entirely out of the question. The Prussians will hold military possession of Paris, and of course there will not be even the shadow of a French Government here. I shall hope to have full instructions as to the course that I shall pursue in the emergencies which are so certain to arise. The telegraph will inform you of the events as they occur, and perhaps it may be necessary for you to advise me by a telegraphic dispatch sent to our minister in London. Unless something unforeseen occurs, I propose to remain here till the end. The last dispatch-bag that I have received left London on the 25th ultimo. We have no news from outside since that date, except the merest scraps brought by pigeons, and a few items from certain German newspapers that have by some means found their way into Paris. In one of these journals is a very brief abstract of the President's message, from which I am glad to learn that the President testifies that I have acquitted my mission, as the protector of the Germans residing in France, in a "satisfactory manner." I am afraid it will be a long time before I get the message in full, the reports of the heads of the Departments, and the first day's proceedings in Congress. The date of your last dispatch is the 10th ultimo, and the last New York dates are of the 12th ultimo.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 134.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 19, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor of sending you herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by Mr. Jules Favre, with the inclosures.

The number of poor Germans to whom I am now giving succor has increased to eleven hundred and seven souls, and additional ones are coming in every day. Indeed, my legation is now crowded every day with these unfortunate people in the last stage of misery. I give to each one all proper aid.

Very truly, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Count de BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 135.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 341.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 26, 1870. (Received January 21.)

SIR: Referring to my dispatch No. 327, in relation to the tax which the city government proposed to levy on the apartments of our country.

men who had left Paris, and to my letter on that subject addressed to Mr. Jules Favre, I now have the pleasure to send you herewith a translation of a letter which I have just received from Mr. Favre on that subject. You will be pleased to see that the government does not propose to press the collection of the tax in question.

I have, &c.,
His Excellency Count de BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

PARIS, December 24, 1870.

SIR: You did me the honor to write to me on the 24th of November last to inform me of the objections made by your fellow-citizens to the tax upon absentees.

The member of the government of the National Defense who has been appointed mayor of Paris has informed me that, having examined the question afresh, he has decided that no further steps shall be taken against the persons to whom notice has been sent.

I hasten to inform you of this decision.

Receive, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

No. 136.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 342.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, December 26, 1870. (Received January 21, 1871.)

SIR: The "sortie" about which I had the honor to write you on the 19th instant was attempted on Wednesday last, and proved entirely unsuccessful. The loss of men in battle was not very serious, but the army suffered immensely from the intense cold weather of the last five days. I should judge that there will be no further military operations attempted for some time. The failure of the sortie and the great suffering of the army have produced a very bad impression in Paris, and the clubs have become extremely violent. I shall not be surprised to see very serious disturbances take place. Hunger and cold will do their work. The wood-riots have already commenced.

I received, on Tuesday afternoon last, after I had sent off my dispatches, two dispatch-bags from London, one of them leaving there on the 2d, and the other on the 10th instant. The bag leaving on the 10th brought only your official dispatches, and no newspapers. I therefore have London papers only to the 2d instant, and New York papers only to the 19th ultimo. I am, therefore, without intelligence from the outside for a very long time, except some little items taken from German papers found on prisoners captured in the fight of Wednesday. The most important item of news is the reported denunciation by Prussia of the Luxembourg treaty of 1867, and it has created quite a sensation here. Not enough is known about the matter, however, to enable any judgment to be formed as to the figure it is to cut in the present situation.

The mortality of the city continues to be very great. The number of deaths last week was 2,728, which is the *precise number* of the week previous. The suffering here has increased very much during the last week, and if it keeps on, and there are no military successes to keep up the spirits of the people, I am not so clear that my prediction in my

dispatch No. 337, in regard to the time the city might hold out, will be verified.

The number of poor Germans who are coming to me for aid is increasing very fast. They now number *fifteen hundred and forty-seven*, and are increasing daily. Our legation is thronged with them every day, from morning till night. I have been compelled to employ two additional men to help me. If this thing is to continue, the charge upon the contingent fund will be larger than I have heretofore estimated.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 137.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

PARIS, December 27, 1870.

SIR : The minister of war has sent me a package of letters and papers found upon the person of Mr. Adolphe Hermann Peters, a soldier of the one hundred and sixth regiment of Prussian infantry, who was found on the battle-field of Villiers-sur-Marne, the 1st of December, and taken to the hospital of Ste. Anne, where he died on the 5th of same month from the effects of his wounds.

I hasten to send you herewith the divers papers, and pray you will be kind enough to forward them to the German authorities.

Receive the assurance of the very high consideration with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 138.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 27, 1870. (Received December 30.)

SIR: Lord Howden, living at No. 28 Cour la Reine, Paris, has applied to me for permission to cross our lines. His name must have been forgotten by the English embassy in the list of the English desiring to leave Paris, and I beg you to consider him as belonging there, and inform him that he can pass through our advance posts on the route to Creteil if he presents himself, furnished with a passport in due form, and a pass signed by you, leaving no doubt as to his identity. It is indispensable that no precaution be neglected on this last point, as our good faith has been taken advantage of several times by persons who have left Paris without our consent by taking the name and place of some foreigner authorized to cross our lines.

Please to accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

V. BISMARCK

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 139.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, December 27, 1870. (Received December 30.)

SIR: It appears by an official report to the military authority that on the 23d of this month shots were fired by French soldiers at the German officer charged with taking letters to the advanced posts of the enemy at the moment when he was about to leave the bridge of Sévres, and while the flags of truce were flying on both sides.

At the commencement of the war, our officers, and the trumpeters who accompanied them, were often, I may say regularly, victims of the disregard by the French troops of the rights of the bearers of flags of truce; it became necessary to give up all communication of this kind, in order to no longer expose our soldiers to the dangers which appeared to be inseparable from it. For some time past they seem to have returned to a stricter observance of the law of nations universally recognized, and it has been possible to maintain regular relations with Paris, established with a special view to facilitating the sending out of dispatches from your legation.

The case occurring on the 23d proves anew that our flags of truce are not safe within the range of the guns of the French soldiers, and we will be obliged to give up the exchange of communication with the enemy unless there are serious guarantees against the recurrence of similar aggressions.

I beg you, therefore, sir, to be good enough to inform Mr. Jules Favre of what occurred on the 23d of December last, and to insist on severe measures against infractions, which, for the sake of our soldiers, we can no longer admit. If the Government of the National Defense desires to continue in future to have communications by flags of truce, it will not hesitate to recognize the justice of our demands and to order an inquiry into the facts of which we complain, as well as the punishment of the guilty. Until it sends us a communication that is satisfactory in this regard, containing guarantees for the future, we shall be obliged to suspend relations which are only admissible under the protection which the most conscientious observance of the rules of the international laws of war ought to give to them.

Please to accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,

Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 140.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 344.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 2, 1871. (Received February 4.)

SIR: Nothing of very great importance has taken place during the last week. The French have been driven off the plateau of Avron by the Prussian artillery, and three of the French forts have been severely

bombarded. No very great damage has as yet been done to the forts, but I think the French military authorities have been greatly surprised at the long range and heavy metal of the Prussian guns. Many people are now predicting that the Prussians will have possession of one of the French forts before long. Such possession would enable them to bombard the city. As for myself, I have no information to enable me to form any opinion on the subject. The excessive and exceptional cold weather continues, and the suffering in the city is steadily increasing. The fuel famine is likely to become as severe as the food famine. The deaths in the city for the last week, independent of the number dying in the military hospitals, amounted to the frightful number of 3,280. Great discontent is now prevailing among the poorer classes, but yet there seems to be a disposition to hold out to the last extremity. Opinions differ as to the length of time the city can stand, but I think the prevailing idea is that it will not surrender till the 1st of February. There are some who even think it will hold out longer than that. It is all speculation, at best. I have myself been so often at fault on this subject that I will not hazard a further opinion.

The number of indigent Germans who are now calling on me for assistance is increasing fearfully. It amounts to-day to *seventeen hundred and fifty-three*. They are suffering severely, in spite of all I can do for them. They have become so numerous that the legation could not accommodate them, and so I have hired a small room on the ground-floor immediately under our legation, where I have their wants administered to. I am doing everything in my power to alleviate the sufferings of these unfortunate people, but if the siege continue much longer, I really do not know what is to become of them, for the time is fast approaching when money cannot procure what is necessary to sustain human life. My position in this regard is becoming embarrassing to the last degree.

The government has no intelligence whatever from the outside world since the 14th ultimo. I have London papers of the 23d and New York papers of the 10th ultimo, but I cannot make their contents known. The dispatches I have received from you will be acknowledged in another communication.

With the compliments of the season for yourself and for those gentlemen in the department with whom I was associated, even for so short a time, I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 141.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

No. 211.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, December 6, 1870.

SIR: I inclose herewith a copy of a dispatch of the 5th ultimo, and of its accompaniments, addressed to this department by Mr. John de la Montagnie, United States consul at Boulogne, in relation to the expense incurred by him in subsisting French soldiers, by order of the authorities at that place.

You are instructed to bring this matter to the notice of the French Government, and to request that proper steps may be taken for the repayment to the consul of the amount thus expended by him.

You will observe from the letter of the mayor of Boulogne to the consul that he disclaims the right of subjecting the consul of the United States to the tax for the support of soldiers. The act really seems to have been that of billeting soldiers upon the consul, and, as such, is in direct contravention of the second article of the convention of 23d February, 1853.

The mayor, in his letter of 15th October, assimilates the position of the American consul to that of certain other consuls, who by custom of previous years have not been subjected to this imposition.

The action of the mayor relieves the present case from any serious aspects, and this government is indisposed at the present time to dwell upon irregularities in this regard which may have occurred.

But you will call the attention of the minister for foreign affairs to the violation of the immunities of the consul, which have thus been invaded, and say that the exemption admitted to attach to the consul at Boulogne exists, in the opinion of this government, by virtue of the convention of 1853, and cannot be accepted by reason of any special custom with regard to the consuls of other nations.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 142.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 345.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 9, 1871. (Received February 4, 1871.)

SIR: I have the honor to state, referring to my dispatch No. 343, that I wrote to Mr. Jules Favre upon the subject of the claim made by Mr. de Montagnie, United States consul at Boulogne, for reimbursement for the expenses incurred by him in the entertainment of French soldiers in that city. Mr. Favre admits promptly the justice of the claim, and states that as soon as possible he will examine the question of the amount of the reimbursement to be paid.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 143.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, January 5, 1871.

SIR: I had the honor to receive the two letters which you kindly addressed me on the 2d of January current, in relation to the attack which took place December 23 upon a German officer charged in his character of bearer of a flag of truce with carrying dispatches to the French posts.

It appears from the communication of Mr. Jules Favre, and from the note of the governor of Paris, of which you have kindly transmitted to me a copy, that the government of the National Defense, desiring that the intercourse of the two armies under flag of truce should be governed by an exact observance of the laws of war, has ordered an in-

quiry into the case in question, and that full satisfaction shall be given to our demands if the fact should be established by witnesses.

The King's government believes it may hope that the investigation will be pursued according to the assurance contained in the letter of General Du Moulin, and that some positive result will ensue.

Meanwhile, the government of the King sees with satisfaction in the assurances of Mr. Jules Favre, and of the governor of Paris, a pledge that severe orders will be given to observe strictly the rights of flags of truce. The resolution of the government of the National Defense permits us to maintain communications between the two armies, which are only possible upon condition that the security of flags of truce is scrupulously respected on both sides.

In his letter Mr. Jules Favre states that the facts for which the French soldiers are blamed were only reprisals, and he cites two cases where French flags of truce were the objects of aggression on the part of the German advanced posts. I hasten to make this known to the military authorities, who will order a rigorous investigation, and, I may add, that from this time the guilty will be severely punished if the facts alleged can be established.

I beg you, sir, however, to call the attention of the government of the national defense to the fact that the shot fired on the 23d, at a German officer, cannot be attributed to an intention to make reprisals for what should happen on the 27th and 30th, and that the system of reprisals would never justify an attack upon the bearer of a flag of truce, especially when the pretext on which it is based has no other foundation than the most vague assertions, of which the truth can now no longer be verified.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,

Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 144.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, January 9, 1871.

SIR : While sending you your London dispatch-bag, together with a number of letters accumulated these last days, I beg you will excuse the fact that, owing to the direction which the bombardment had taken during several days, the dispatch-bag reaches you later than usually.

I am, your excellency's very obedient servant,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,

Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 145.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 346.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 9, 1871. (Received February 4.)

SIR : The bombardment which the Prussians commenced on the "forts of the east," as they are called, that is to say, upon the forts of Romy,

Nogent, Noisy, Remanyville, Aubervilliers, and the East, as well as upon the Plateau of Avron, on the 27th ultimo, has continued to the present time, save some brief intervals. It has been violent and long continued, and, with the exception of driving the French from the Plateau of Avron, very little damage has been done, if we are to give credence to the official reports. On Wednesday night, the 4th instant, a bombardment "en règle" was commenced against the "forts of the south," that is, against Issy, Vannes, Montrouge, Bicêtre, and Ivry. This bombardment has continued up to this time with great fury, though with some short interruptions. It is, therefore, now nearly five days since the Prussian batteries opened their fire on these forts. The cannonading of some of them, particularly Vannes, has been terrific, but the military reports, while acknowledging the extreme violence of the fire, do not confess to any material damage. Whatever injury may have in reality been inflicted upon any of the forts, one thing is certain, no fort has yet been taken or even silenced, but, on the other hand, some of them have replied with great spirit, and, it is claimed, with considerable effect. But what is more serious is the bombardment of the city. A great many shells have fallen in the city, on the left bank of the river, particularly in the neighborhood of the Luxembourg and the Pantheon. Some twenty or thirty people have been killed and wounded, including women and children, but no very great damage has been done to the buildings. This bombardment of the city must be considered as an incident to the bombardment of the forts (the shells passing the forts and coming into the city), for, I take it, no premeditated bombardment of the place would be commenced until due notice thereof had been given and a surrender demanded. And I assume, further, that the diplomatic corps remaining near the government in Paris would be duly notified in case a regular bombardment were to be commenced. And yet it may be said that, in *point of fact*, the city is under bombardment to-day. The matter is assuming a grave aspect, and Mr. Kern, the *doyen* of the diplomatic corps, will call the body together to-morrow to determine what action may be necessary in the premises.

There is no doubt that the people of Paris are greatly surprised to find that the enemy can send his shells into the very heart of their city, for it has always been contended that such a thing was impossible without the possession of one of the French forts. I am quite confident that my residence can now be reached by the Prussian batteries, but it is doubtful whether the legation is within the reach of any battery yet opened. If the shells begin to fall in a too close proximity to us, we shall have to remove to some safer place, provided it can be found.

. There has been a good deal of discontent in the city during the past week. It has not, however, taken the direction of a cry for peace or surrender, but resulting in a sharp arraignment of the government for a failure to perform its whole duty. On Thursday last an address to the people of Paris, signed by a large number of persons calling themselves "Delegates of the twenty arrondissements of Paris," was placarded in a large red handbill. I send the address herewith, as cut from one of the journals. Although a great many people said the arraignment was partially just, yet but few were willing to accept the remedy proposed, by replacing the government of the National Defense by the revolutionary commune. They evidently adopted Mr. Lincoln's theory, that it was no time to swap horses while swimming a river. The consequence was that the handbills were torn down as fast as they were put up, even in the most turbulent parts of the city. General Trochu made this trouble the occasion of issuing another proclamation, a copy of which

I also inclose, and in which he declares "that the governor of Paris will not capitulate."

The bombardment has been the great subject of interest and conversation during the past week. As I am writing, I learn that it was excessively violent the latter part of last night and that it has continued equally violent during to-day. Many people are reported to have been killed. There is apparently not the alarm felt that one might suppose amid all this danger. So far the people have accepted it with a calm and nonchalance almost amounting to recklessness. When it shall become more terrible, however, a panic might seize the population and great trouble may come.

The cold has moderated, and the suffering of the people in that respect has been very sensibly ameliorated. The number of deaths for the last week is three thousand six hundred and eighty, which is quite an increase over the number of the week before. The number of Germans seeking aid from me is still increasing. Nobody could have supposed there were so many left here when the gates of the city were shut. Cases of terrible suffering are brought to my notice every day. I heard a few days ago of a family in the last stage of destitution, absolutely perishing of cold and hunger. I immediately sent my messenger with a small quantity of wood, some wine, chocolate, sugar, confiture, &c. He found a family of seven persons, consisting of the father and mother and five children, cooped up in a little seven-by-nine attic, entirely without fire and nothing to eat but dry bread. They had already burned their last bedstead as a last resource. On a little pallet of straw on the floor was a little boy, seven years old, so weakened by hunger as to be unable to sit up or scarcely to lift his head. I directed some money to be given them, and I now hope to get them through, unless this siege shall last forever. The number that we are now assisting is two thousand and thirty-nine; an increase of two hundred and eighty six in one week.

I have not yet received my dispatch-bag, which should have left London on the 30th ultimo. My latest London dates are of the 23d, and I have dates of the 10th ultimo.

I have, &c.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

P. S.—Monday evening, January 9.—Since writing the above I have heard of an accident that befel a young American. Last night, Charles M. Swager, of Louisville, Ky., was struck by a shell in his own room, No. 7 Rue Cassimir de la Vigne, Hotel St. Sulpice. The shell burst in the room and a fragment struck his foot, and injuring it to such an extent that amputation was found necessary. He was taken to the American ambulance, and the operation was performed by Doctors Swinburne and Johnston this afternoon. The patient is doing well.

E. B. W.

No. 146.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 347.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 16, 1871. (Received February 17.)

SIR: It was but a short time after I closed my dispatch No. 346, bearing date the 9th instant, before the bombardment took such pro-

portions as to leave no doubt as to its true character. Bombs, in increasing numbers, continued to fall in the interior of the city, not only upon private buildings, but upon hospitals, schools, churches, ambulances, prisons, &c., and men, women, and children, in considerable numbers, were killed and wounded. Not only has one of our own countrymen been grievously wounded, but the property of Americans has been destroyed, and a further destruction is imminent. In view of the gravity of the situation the diplomatic corps (and the consuls acting in the absence of their respective legations) was convened to consider what was proper for them to do, looking to the protection of the lives and property of their countrymen now in Paris. After several meetings it was agreed to address a communication to Count de Bismarck on the subject, a translation of which I have the honor to inclose you herewith.

To-day is the twelfth day since the bombardment of the city and the forts of the south commenced, and as it is generally supposed with all the power of the besieging forces. The Official Journal of yesterday has an official report of the results of the bombardment of the city from the 5th to the 13th instant. This report shows one hundred and eighty-nine victims, fifty-one killed and one hundred and thirty-eight wounded. Of the fifty-one killed, there were eighteen children, twelve women, and twenty-one men. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight wounded there were twenty-one children, forty-five women, and seventy-two men. The public edifices that have been struck are the Val de Grâce, the Sorbonne, the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, the churches of Saint Etienne du Mont, Sainte Geneviève, Sainte Sulpice, and Vaugirard; the prison de la Santé, the barracks of Vieux Colombier, the hospital de la Pitié, the prison St. Pélagie, l'Ecole Polytechnique, l'Ecole Pratique de Médecine, the couvent of the Sacré Cœur, the hospital of Salpêtrière, the normal school, the Institution for the Blind, the hospital of the Infant Jesus, Maternité, and de Lourcine, and the ambulances of St. Perine and of the Dames Augustines. The number of private buildings struck is about three hundred and fifty, but many of them but little damaged. No building of any great value has yet been burned. No bombs have yet fallen on the right bank of the Seine. When the length of time is considered that the bombardment has been going on, and the enormous quantity of material that has been expended, the small number of killed and wounded and the small amount of actual damage is surprising. The bombardment so far has not had the effect of hastening the surrender of the city. On the other hand, it has apparently made the people more firm and determined. In the presence of a common danger the feeling of hostility to the government, which was so openly manifested some two weeks ago, has been greatly modified. So much in regard to the bombardment of the city. It is hard to tell what the real state of facts is in regard to the damage done to the forts. The forts of the east have been bombarded for twenty, and the forts of the south for twelve, days, and one thing is certain that no fort has been either taken or silenced. How long any or all of these forts can hold out I have no means of judging. With the possession of one of these forts the besiegers would have a much larger part of the city immediately under their guns, and a bombardment from such a point can only be contemplated with horror. And with the spirit now manifested by the people of Paris I do not believe the city would then yield. In the event of the city not yielding to bombardment or assault, the question always is, how long before it will have to yield to famine? I am reluctant to speak further on that subject, as my predictions have so often failed of verification.

I saw yesterday the gentleman who has charge of rationing the people of the arrondissement in which I live, and he assured me they had enough provisions for *two months yet*. While the amount of flour was running short, he said they had a great quantity of grain, and the only trouble was in making it into flour fast enough to supply the demand for bread. I met last night a gentleman in a high official position, and whose duty it has been to gather all the information possible in regard to the amount of food in the city, and he says there is enough to last easily till the first of March. The bread will be of a poor quality, but there will be enough of it. Of rice there is a very large quantity, and an unlimited supply of wine, coffee, sugar, &c. Another man, claiming to be equally well informed, will positively assure you that there are not more than provisions enough to last more than two weeks longer at the outside. You will see, therefore, how widely the opinions of people differ on this most vital question.

We are again having cold weather, and the suffering of the people has been intensified. The number of deaths is steadily increasing, and last week it amounted to *thirty-nine hundred and eighty*.

My dispatch-bag, which left London on the 30th ultimo, only reached me on Tuesday night, the 10th instant. It brought me home-papers to the 17th, and London papers to the 30th ultimo. The bag which undoubtedly left London on the 6th instant has not yet arrived.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

The Diplomatic Corps to Count Bismarck.

SIR: For some days past a large number of shells, coming from positions occupied by the besieging troops, have entered the interior of Paris.

Women, children, and sick persons have been struck. Among the victims there are many who belong to neutral states. The lives and property of persons of all nationalities, residing in Paris, are in constant danger.

These things have happened without the undersigned (the greater part of whom have no other mission for the present at Paris, except to watch over the security and interests of their countrymen) having been enabled by a preliminary notice to warn against the dangers which menaced them, those of their countrymen who had been hitherto prevented by "force majeure," and especially by the impediments placed in the way of their departure by the belligerents, from placing themselves in safety. In presence of events of so grave a character, the members of the diplomatic corps present at Paris, with whom are associated in the absence of their respective embassies and legations, the undersigned members of the consular corps, have thought it necessary, with a full sense of their responsibility toward their respective governments, and of their duties toward their fellow-countrymen, to concert upon the measures to be taken.

Their deliberations have led the undersigned to the unanimous resolution to request that, in accordance with the recognized principles and usages of the law of nations, steps be taken to permit their countrymen to place themselves and their property in safety.

Expressing with confidence the hope that your excellency will interpose your good offices with the military authorities, in accordance with the object of this request, the undersigned take this opportunity to beg you will receive the assurances of their very high consideration.

PARIS, January 13, 1871.

[Here follow the signatures of the diplomatic corps present in Paris.]

His Excellency the Count BISMARCK-SCHÖNHAUSEN,
Chancellor of the North German Confederation, Versailles.

No. 147.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 348.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 16, 1871. (Received February 17.)

SIR: In my dispatch No. 321, dated November 19, 1870, I estimated that the amount to be paid out of the contingent fund of this legation, as connected with the expenses entailed upon it by virtue of our protection to the subjects of the North German Confederation, would not be likely to reach more than fifteen hundred dollars. That sum was independent of what I proposed should be paid to persons connected with the legation. At the time I had the honor of addressing you that dispatch, I supposed that my duties in that regard would have been ended before this time. Instead of that being the case, they have greatly increased, and no man can now venture to predict how long they are likely to continue. I am to-day furnishing aid to *twenty two hundred and seventy six* destitute Germans, and I have had to employ three additional persons in my legation to perform the service necessary to look after these people. Besides, it is necessary to consider the vastly-enhanced prices of everything which we have to purchase, as incidents to the state of siege. For instance, I have had to pay at the rate of more than fifty dollars a cord for wood. There is besides quite an amount to pay for carriage-hire. Instead, therefore, of three thousand dollars (including extra compensation) which I estimated, it may in the end reach four thousand. I have thought proper to thus call this matter to your attention, in order that you might bring it to the notice of Congress, provided you should deem it necessary.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 148.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, *January 16, 1871.*

SIR: Lord Augustus Loftus has communicated to me copy of a letter addressed to Earl Granville by Mr. Tissot, the French chargé d'affaires at London, complaining of the system, as he calls it, of the German authorities in the occupied parts of France, of taking hostages and arresting persons belonging to the civil service. Copy of that letter you will find inclosed herewith.

Concerning the hostages taken in order to procure the deliverance of the masters and crews of German merchantmen treated as prisoners of war by the French, I have fully explained the reasons of our conduct, both in a letter addressed to the government at Tours under date of the 16th of November last, and in my dispatch to your excellency of the 5th of this month. Civil officials have been arrested and some of them sent to Germany, partly for trial, partly to be kept in safe custody, because they have acted in a matter prejudicial to the security of the German forces, or to the interest of our occupation.

By the letter of Mr. Tissot I learn that one of them, Mr. Garceau, ingénieur des ponts et chaussées, arrested for having refused to continue his official functions, has done so in obedience to an order of his French

superior. So far from justifying the demand of his release this circumstance affords an additional justification for the system complained of by Mr. Tissot. I might refer to the practice habitually observed by the French when occupying the territory of an enemy, which practice is amply and authentically detailed in the published correspondence of the Emperor Napoleon I. I might remind the government of National Defense that, according to that practice, Mr. Garceau would run the risk of being shot. But it will suffice to call their attention to this principle well established in international law, that a belligerent while occupying the territory of the adversary may claim, and, if necessary, enforce obedience on the part of officials residing in that territory, and that the refusal of such an official to obey him would but be aggravated by the pretension of obeying orders issuing from the enemy.

I beg you will be good enough to communicate a copy of the present letter to Mr. Jules Favre; and I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 149.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, January 19, 1871.

SIR: I have received a communication from the military authorities, stating that the projectiles thrown by the French artillery bearing upon the city of Sévres on the 21st of December fell, by preference, upon the hospital of the city, and the convent of the Dominicans, occupied by the Sisters of Charity, both appropriated for the accommodation of the German wounded and sick, and surmounted by the flag with the red cross. The localities of Sévres are well known at Paris, and the distance of these hospitals from the site of the French batteries permits them to be distinguished, and in any event is much less than that of our batteries from the city of Paris. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that it is by inadvertence. I protest against this violation of the Geneva convention, and I beg you to kindly communicate this letter to Mr. Jules Favre.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN, &c., &c., &c.

No. 150.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, January 23, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a letter from Mr. de Thile, secretary of state, concerning the liberation of Mr. Fontaine, ordered by the government of the national defense, at Tours.

It appears from this communication that as soon as the minister of war learned of the resolution adopted with regard to Mr. Fontaine he hastened to set at liberty the three hostages taken at Domrémy to guarantee the safety and lead to the liberation of the latter. The demand contained in the document annexed to the letter of Mr. de Thile, to send back to France a French officer in exchange for Mr. Fontaine, could not be acceded to because, in his character of man of letters, he stands in the same category as the captains of German merchantmen held unjustly in France. I take advantage of the occasion to make the observation in regard to the latter that information worthy of belief, contrary to the evidence easily obtained in their sad condition by the French authorities, leaves no doubt in regard to the bad treatment to which they have been subjected in their captivity. The German authorities consider themselves obliged, in consequence of this information, to still increase the number of hostages detained at Bremen by having a certain number of persons arrested in different French cities, to be held in Germany until the French authorities consent to set at liberty the captains of the merchant-marine whom they have sequestered.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,

Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 151.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 350.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 23, 1871. (Received February 17.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of a correspondence I have had with Count de Bismarck (including one letter to Mr. Motley, and one to Mr. Moran), on the subject of my dispatch-bag to and from Paris to London.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, December 6, 1870.

SIR: The Daily News newspaper of the 24th November contains an article from its Paris correspondent, stating that the English papers arrive regularly by the dispatch-bag which is sent you each week by the United States legation in England. He adds a detailed account of the eagerness of the French journalists to peruse the English papers, so as to reproduce their contents in the Paris papers.

If the statement alluded to be exact, it would imply relations incompatible with the rules dictated by the interests of military operations during the investment of Paris. The military authorities cannot sanction that foreign papers of recent date should reach the besieged without having been previously examined.

In obtaining for the United States legation the privilege of receiving closed dispatches within a besieged fortress, I allowed myself to be led by the conviction that we had not to fear any inconvenience liable to compromise our interest.

I believed it to be understood that the authorization only applied to official communications between the Washington government and the United States legation at Paris. The King's ambassador at London is instructed to make the like remarks to your

colleague, Mr. Motley, who will, doubtless, know on his side how to put an end to any abuse if there should be such.

Receive, sir, the renewed assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

Mr. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

PARIS, December 12, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, in relation to the reception of the London papers at this legation.

I took it for granted that a few numbers of the London papers of an old date could do neither good nor harm to any interest, and hence I permitted them to lie upon my table to be perused by people who were sufficiently interested to come and look over them. But, as some of the Paris journals charge that they are sent to me by the Prussian authorities in the hope that the bad news they contain will discourage the French, and as you consider their reception incompatible with the rules dictated by your military operations, I shall decline receiving any more, and I have this day written to London to have no more sent to me.

It is proper for me to say that I received some London papers in the bag which arrived on Saturday last. They will be seen by no person whatever, excepting myself, and I shall most strictly guard their contents. I hope you will find no objection to my receiving through the bag the papers from my own country, with the understanding that they are particularly for my own perusal. I would be very glad if you would instruct Count Berustoff to consult with Mr. Motley on the subject. I shall write to Mr. Motley not to send me even the American journals without the assent of your government, signified by Count Berustoff.

The bag arriving on Saturday only reached here the sixteenth day after leaving London, and I am curious to know whether the great delay was on account of the French military authorities refusing to receive it. It ought not really to take more than four or five days for the bag to come from London here, and I wish that hereafter I might receive it within that time.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency Count de BISMARCK, &c., &c., &c.

[Inclosure 3.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Motley.

PARIS, December 12, 1870.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Count Bismarck writes that my reception of the London journals is incompatible with the interest of their military operations before Paris, and he says you will be conferred with in the same sense. I desire, therefore, that no more London papers be sent to me. I find their reception only a nuisance. It seems now the Prussians object, and some of the French papers have charged that they are sent to me by Bismarck, in the hope that the bad news they contain will demoralize and discourage the Parisians. It is, therefore, best that I should receive no more London papers, but I have written Count de Bismarck that I hope he will not object to my receiving our own home papers, and that he will instruct Count Bernstoff to consult with you on the subject, and if Count Bismarck does not assent to it, you will be good enough not to send me the American papers.

The Prussian authorities having granted me the privilege of having a bag, their understanding of what it should contain must be conformed to, and I do not wish that it should cover anything improper.

Believe me, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 4.—Translation.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, December 15, 1870.

SIR: I have the honor to receive the letter which you have kindly addressed to me under date 12th December, in relation to the English papers which reach you by the

dispatch-bag forwarded from London, and I hasten to assure you that you have mis-understood the bearing of my remarks.

In addressing you my letter of the 6th December last, I only intended to call your attention to the abuse noted by the correspondent of the Daily News, convinced that you were unaware of it, and that this would be sufficient to put an end to it, if it had existed.

But I had no intention to deprive you personally of the English or American papers which you wish to receive, and you are entirely free to have them come for your own private use. I am persuaded that you will take the necessary precautions, so that no inconveniences shall result incompatible with our military interest.

The King's ambassador at London is instructed to inform Mr. Motley that there is no opposition on our side to his continuing sending you the English and American papers which you wish to receive.

Receive, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States of America, Paris.

[Inclosure 5.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Moran.

PARIS, January 1, 1871.

DEAR MR. MORAN: Please send me no more London papers; only cut out the tele-graphic dispatches from the United States, from day to day, and send them. It is too much to be the only person, in a city of two millions of people, who receives any outside news. It has become a great annoyance, and I prefer being without news to being subject to it. I hope you will receive permission to send all my private letters. I expect you will send me all the American papers as usual.

Yours, truly,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 6.]

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

PARIS, January 4, 1871.

SIR: The reception of the London journals may involve me in trouble, and I write Mr. Moran by General Read not to send me any more, only inclosing me the telegraphic dispatches from the United States which appear in them. Some Paris papers represent that I have given out news; others say that I give out nothing, because the news is favorable to the French arms; and attempts have been made to bribe my servants to get hold of them. I conclude the only safe way is to receive no more English papers. I shall expect to receive my home papers as usual, and hope also to have permission to receive my private letters.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency Count de BISMARCK, &c.

[Inclosure 7.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, January 15, 1871.

SIR: I beg to inclose extracts of three letters addressed by persons residing in Paris to correspondents abroad. They are taken out of a balloon sent up in Paris and captured by our men. You will see from the copied passages that the facilities we have accorded to the correspondence of the American legation in London are known to private persons, some of them French, and made use of by them in order to carry on a clandestine correspondence with other people, some of them French. Those extracts further prove that Mr. Hoffman is expected to lend a helping hand to an epistolary intercourse of that kind. I trust your excellency will effectually prevent the members of your legation from lending themselves to a practice, the continuance of which would make it imperative for me not to allow any letters to pass, except those bearing the

seal of the State Department of Washington. It is the possibility of occurrences like these that makes the military authorities indisposed to favor a prompt expedition of your correspondence. Having reluctantly acceded to the whole arrangement, they would have preferred sending your dispatch-bag not to London, but directly to Washington; and now the question may be raised by them of cutting off any correspondence between you and London. In that case, the best way, in my opinion, of obtaining a prompter expedition with the least inconvenience to you, would be to have the dispatch-bags for you made up and sealed, not in London, but in Washington, and to send private letters addressed to you personally together with, but not inclosed in, the bag.

Please let me know if such an arrangement would eventually suit you.

I remain, with the highest consideration, your excellency's, &c.,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States at Paris.

[Inclosure 8.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, January 15, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to your excellency the dispatch-bag received from London. In accordance with the wish expressed in your letter of the 13th instant, I have, on my personal responsibility, immediately forwarded your dispatch-bag to London. In so doing I acted against the principle adopted by the general staff, that no sealed packages or letters shall be allowed to pass through our lines in either direction without a stoppage of several days. The motive of this rule is the apprehension of the general staff that even the most scrupulous loyalty and attention on the part of the responsible chief might not always exclude the possibility of missives being, by irresponsible parties, introduced into an official cover.

However much I may, from personal consideration, feel inclined to oppose this restriction in all cases where you are concerned, I cannot help perceiving that all my endeavors will be fruitless after the impression produced upon our general staff by the balloon letters which form the subject of another communication.

I therefore regret to state that it is out of my power to establish the present instance of immediate transmission as a precedent.

I remain, &c.,

v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States at Paris.

[Inclosure 9.]

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 19, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, both under date of the 15th instant, relating to matters connected with the transmission of the United States dispatch-bag to and from this city. One of those letters incloses extracts from those letters said to have been addressed by persons residing in Paris to correspondents abroad, such letters having been sent out in a balloon which was captured by your men.

There is no doubt but the facilities for correspondence which the legation of the United States at Paris has had are known in London and elsewhere, and that certain persons have sought to abuse those facilities, and, in order to accomplish their purposes, have attempted to make an unwarrantable use of this legation. A good many letters have found their way to our legation here. Many have been sent by your excellency, some by Count Solms, and some by Count d'Hatzfeldt. These letters having, as I have assumed, passed through your hands, I considered that I had a sufficient guarantee that they contained nothing compromising to either belligerent, and I caused them all to be delivered to the parties to whom they were addressed, without examination.

Of the letters that have found their way into my dispatch-bag, coming from London, some were addressed to my compatriots who have been detained in Paris. Such let-

ters, after having been examined and found to contain no allusion to military or political matters, have been delivered.

A very few letters have come to me addressed to people of nationalities other than French, and after examining them and finding that they contained no allusion to military events, I caused them also to be delivered. Perhaps in half a dozen cases I have delivered some very brief notes to French people well known to me, but only after the most scrupulous examination which showed them to contain absolutely nothing but reference to family matters. And I may say that nine out of ten of the small number of letters I have received through my dispatch-bag have not been delivered by me at all, as I considered that it was not in accordance with your understanding of what the bag might contain. I have to remark, therefore, that no letters, received through my dispatch-bag from London, have ever gone out of this legation which contained anything in regard to military or political events, or containing anything in the least degree compromising to either of the belligerents; and I beg to say further, that I have equally guarded the contents of my outgoing bag.

In this connection permit me to observe that you will find inclosed herewith an envelope, containing certain letters addressed to persons in Paris, and which you sent to me by the last parlementaire. I know nothing of these persons, and I know no reason why I should deliver the letters. I therefore have the honor to return them to you.

As you suggest that the extracts of the balloon letters prove that Colonel Hoffman was expected to lend a helping hand to the epistolary correspondence, I am authorized by him to state that he has no idea of the parties who wrote two of the letters in which his name has been used, and he denies in the most emphatic manner that they could have been authorized to use his name in any way. As to the other party, Mrs. Chandor, an American lady, whom he says he found in great distress on account of the sickness of her children with the small-pox, in Brussels, he consented to have information sent to him in regard to them. He had no conception that this act of pure kindness would be taken advantage of to get in a letter to the gentleman therein named, whom he had never heard of. I make haste to speak of Colonel Hoffman as a gentleman of the most unquestioned loyalty and honor, a man who thoroughly appreciates his duties and obligations, and holds to a most rigorous observance of them. I have no idea who the writer of the letters is who speaks of receiving news by the "intermediary of Mr. Washburne," but I do know that he never had any authority from me to use my name in that way, and in doing so was guilty of a gross impertinence and a gross outrage.

I beg to thank your excellency for your prompt transmission of my bag to London, in accordance with the request of my letter of the 13th instant.

In relation to the suggestion which your excellency makes, that my dispatch-bag shall be sent directly to Washington, not to be opened in London, I have to state that such an arrangement would deprive me of communicating with the United States legation in London, and through that legation, in case of need, with the Washington Government by telegraph.

In regard to sending my dispatches from Washington in a bag made up there to be transmitted directly to me here, its practical operation at the present time would be to deprive me of all communication from my government. My weekly dispatches from Mr. Fish for the last four weeks are now on their way from Washington to Paris. If I am deprived of a bag from London, those dispatches, therefore, could not reach me under the seal of my government, which is the only way that I would feel authorized to receive them. Independent of that, it will take between three and four weeks for me to get a letter to Washington, requesting that the bag may be made up there directly for Paris. In the mean time, dispatches to me would be coming weekly to London, with the expectation that I should receive them in the usual manner. And further, after my letter should have finally reached Washington, requesting that the bag should be made up there for Paris, it would take the contents of such bag three or four weeks more to reach me.

Hence, your excellency will perceive that if I should receive no bag from London I should be deprived of hearing from Mr. Fish for a period of some three months.

With a knowledge, therefore, of the views of my government on this subject, and its opinion that it has a right to promptly communicate with me as its representative near the government of France, it is impossible for me to acquiesce in the arrangement which you have done me the honor to recommend. I have concluded, therefore, to send you by the parlementaire, which I hope to obtain for Tuesday next, my dispatch-bag addressed in the usual way to the United States dispatch-agent in London. If you should feel constrained to decline sending it forward without an unreasonable delay, I will thank you to return it to me here by the first parlementaire. And also, if you should feel constrained to retain my bag sent to you from London to Versailles beyond a reasonable time, I will thank you to return it to London.

Out of respect, due alike to myself, as well as to the government which I have the honor to represent, I should feel compelled to decline receiving or transmitting any dispatch-bag or any communication through your military lines upon terms and conditions which might be construed as implying a distrust of my good faith and of the

loyal manner in which I have discharged my duty toward both belligerents and to my own government, to which I am alone responsible for my official action.

Before closing this communication, I trust your excellency will pardon me a further observation. For the period of six months I have been charged with the delicate, laborious, and responsible duty of protecting your countrymen in Paris. Of the manner in which those duties, having relations to both belligerents, have been performed, I do not propose to speak; I am content to abide by the record made up in the State Department at Washington. But I can state that there has never been a time when these duties have involved graver consequences and responsibilities than at the present moment. As I have expressed to you before, I have been astonished at the number of Germans who, as it turns out, were left in the city when the gates were closed. Having exhausted their last resources, and finding themselves in a state of the most absolute destitution, they have applied to me for protection and aid, which I have so far been enabled to extend to them from the funds placed in my hands by the royal government. The number of these people amounts to-day to two thousand three hundred and eighty-five (2,385), and it is certain, had there not been some one here to protect and aid them, many must have inevitably perished of cold and starvation. My position in relation to these people and to your government is known to the people of Paris, and as the siege wears on and the exasperation is intensified, I now find myself exposed to the hostility of a certain portion of the population of the city. While your military authorities seem to be agitated by the gravest fears in relation to my dispatch-bag, I am daily violently assailed by a portion of the Paris press as a "Prussian representative," and a "Prussian sympathizer," and a short time since it was proposed in one of the clubs that I should be hung—rather a pleasant diversion in these dreary days of siege through which we are passing.

I will only add that, so long as I am the diplomatic representative of my country in Paris, I shall discharge every duty, even to the end, and in the face of every circumstance, that I owe to my own government, and every duty that I have, by its direction, assumed toward the subjects of the North German Confederation.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Count DE BISMARCK, &c.

No. 152.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 351.]

LEGATION OF UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 25, 1871. (Received February 17.)

SIR: The past week has been one of great interest. The government issued its order for the rationing of bread on the 18th instant, which is an evidence of the "beginning of the end." The amount issued is three-fifths of a pound to all, except children under five years of age, who receive one-half of that quantity. This allowance is small, and the quality of the bread issued is very poor indeed. It has only about thirty-one-hundredths of flour. The balance is made up of oatmeal and rice, and some say pease and beans form part of this admixture. It is a sad sight to see the long *queues* at all the bake-shops. One sees posted at all the cafés the notice to their customers that they must bring their bread with them. The *mairies* are rationing very small quantities of horse-meat, a little rice, beans, pease, and occasionally herring and cod-fish. The quantity of coffee, sugar, and wine is sufficient for the siege, and can be had at enhanced prices.

The third grand *sorcie* was made on Thursday morning last beyond Mont Valérien, and in the direction of Versailles. The movement was under the direction of General Trochu himself, his third army corps being commanded respectively by Vinoy, Ducrot, and Bellemère. The French appear to have had some success in the morning, and to have captured some of the advanced positions of the enemy, but after a bloody fight, continuing nearly all day, they were finally driven from the positions they had captured under the protection of the guns of

Mont Valérien. There has been no official statement of the French killed and wounded, and the number of men placed *hors du combat*.

The number of killed and wounded is variously estimated at from four to eight thousand. I, of course, have no means of judging as to the correctness of any of these estimates.

The attack was not renewed on Friday morning, but on the other hand the troops began coming into the city. The national guard participated largely in this *sor tie*, and it is said that they fought very creditably. The complete failure of the movement, with so great a loss of men, produced a very profound impression in the city on Friday. The feeling became very much intensified toward evening, when the government published a pigeon dispatch stating that Chanzy had been defeated, and had lost two thousand prisoners and twelve guns. The agitation in the evening became intense, particularly in the revolutionary parts of the city, and the clubs were crowded with an exasperated and excited population.

On Saturday the excitement was still greater, and the most violent and revolutionary movements were set on foot in Belleville, La Villette, and Montmartre. Measures having been concocted, on Saturday night the prison of Mazas was attacked and many of the insurrectionists of the 31st October, who were there imprisoned, were set at liberty, and among them Flourens, who was the leader of the *émeute* of that date. It would seem extraordinary that in a city where there are five hundred thousand soldiers a prison like that of Mazas should have been left to be captured by an insignificant body of men. It is said, however, that the prison was not actually *forced*, but was opened by the treachery of the director.

On Sunday (yesterday) the *Journal Officiel* announced that the commandant-in-chief of the army of Paris would henceforth be separated from the presidency of the government; that General Vinoy was made commander-in-chief of the army of Paris; that the title and functions of the government of Paris were suppressed; that General Trochu would be continued as the president of the government. This was considered a half-way measure, and did not seem to give general satisfaction. It was claimed that Trochu had completely lost the public confidence, and that he ought no longer to occupy any position whatever in the government.

During all the day of Saturday, and on Saturday night, arrangements were being made by certain turbulent spirits, and by some battalions of the national guard from Belleville, in addition to attacking Mazas, to make an attack on the government.

Hence, after they had delivered the prisoners from Mazas they attempted to seize the *mairie* of the twentieth arrondissement (which includes Belleville), and to install themselves there as the headquarters of the insurrection. They remained there long enough to steal all the bread which had been laid aside for the poor. Notices of the invasion of the *mairies* having been conveyed to the military commander in that section of the city, he proceeded hither with a few companies of the national guard, and very soon summarily expelled the insurgents.

About one o'clock in the afternoon of yesterday crowds of people, including men, women, and children, particularly from Belleville, began flowing toward the Hôtel de Ville, crying "*Donnez-nous du pain*," "*Nous mourrons de faim*," "*Vive la Commune!*" "*À bas Trochu!*" After remaining in the great square in front of the Hôtel de Ville for an hour or two the crowd began slowly to disperse. About three o'clock, however, a troop of about five hundred men arrived in front of the hôtel. They marched in

order with shouldered arms, and with drums beating the charge. They massed on the sidewalk in front of the hôtel, crying "*À bas Trochu!*" "*Vive la Commune!*" After some parleying, shots were fired from the ranks of the mob, and an officer of the *garde mobile* received three balls and fell seriously wounded upon the sidewalk. Then an indiscriminate firing took place between the mobiles guarding the Hôtel de Ville and the rioters. Some of the insurgents had posted themselves in houses opposite the Hôtel de Ville and directed a fire against the windows of the first story of the building. They also threw out a certain number of bombs and explosive balls. And now the *rappel* commenced to beat in the quarters near to the Hôtel de Ville, and soon afterward in other localities. The national guards everywhere rallied with great alacrity to sustain public order, and in a few minutes the insurgents were put ingloriously to flight. The Journal Officiel of this morning says that in this "combat" there have been five persons killed and eighteen wounded. There has since been no further trouble. It was quiet all last night, and the most perfect tranquillity reigns to-day.

Vinoy is fully installed as the commander of the army of Paris, and has issued a soldierly order of the day. His position is one of the most difficult that was ever undertaken by a soldier, and of course it is idle for me to speculate as to the line of action which he will adopt.

The government published yesterday morning a dispatch from Chanzy, dated the 16th of January, which showed that his army was in a very bad position. This news has added still further to the discouragement of the people of Paris, but no whisper of surrender is yet heard. In all of these terrible circumstances no man talks either of surrender or of peace. The bombardment has so far utterly failed of accomplishing what was its apparent object. This is the nineteenth day, and its effects now are not as great as they have been. The number of killed and wounded cannot exceed three hundred, and the material damage is not very great. No fort has either been or is likely to be taken; and I hold to my opinion that the city will only be taken by famine. It may, however, fall suddenly, and the siege, now extended over four long months, be ended before this dispatch shall reach you. The government seems to have suddenly waked up to an unusual degree of energy. The Journal Officiel of this morning publishes one decree suppressing all the clubs; another decree to facilitate the rapid administration of military justice, and yet another suppressing the red republican journals, *Le Réveil* and *Le Combat*.

The number of deaths in the city per week is still increasing. Last week the number reached four thousand four hundred and sixty-five (4,465), not counting the deaths in the hospitals, which are estimated for the last week at one thousand.

The weather has moderated very much, and the suffering by cold has been greatly alleviated.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 153.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

No. 228.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, January 24, 1871.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 341, of the 26th ultimo, inclosing a translation of a letter from Mr. Jules Favre,

from which it appears that the tax on the apartments of citizens of the United States, who left Paris, which it was proposed to levy, will not be enforced.

The department approves the course which you have pursued concerning this question, and I congratulate you upon your success in obtaining the repeal of so unjust a regulation or decree.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 154.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 26, 1871.

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt this morning of two letters from your excellency: one of the 16th instant, addressed to me by Mr. de Thele, in reference to the case of Dr. Fontaine; the other of the 23d instant, addressed to me by your excellency, in reference to the same case, and also relating to hostages taken by the North German authorities, with a view to secure the better treatment and release of certain captives of North German merchantmen. Copies of both these letters have been transmitted to Mr. Jules Favre.

I take this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Count DE BISMARCK,
Chancellor of the North German Confederation.

No. 155.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, *January 27, 1871.*

SIR : I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 21st of this month, inclosing a parcel addressed to you from Brussels, and containing a number of letters to private persons in Paris. I had not ordered that parcel to be opened, supposing that it came from Mrs. Washburne. After examination of its contents, I beg to inclose it once more, and leave it entirely to your discretion and convenience whether to send the letters out or not. I have to say the same with respect to the advertisements directly or indirectly addressed to you in the Times newspaper.

I have the honor to be your excellency's humble, obedient servant,
v. BISMARCK.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURN,
Minister of the United States of America at Paris.

No. 156.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 353.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 30, 1871. (Received February 18.)

SIR : I have the honor to inclose you herewith a copy of a letter I

have received from Count de Bismarck, in reply to my letter to him on the subject of the dispatch-bag.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, January 28, 1871.

SIR: I had the honor of receiving your answer, dated the 19th instant, to my two letters of 15th, relating to your correspondence with the United States legation in London. I should very much regret if you should have construed anything in these two letters so as to convey the indication of any complaint against you. Nothing, indeed, could be further from my thought, and I take pleasure in renewing the expression how deeply sensible I am of all the trouble you have in carrying on your correspondence with the authorities in Paris, and in taking care of our countrymen there. But the balloon letters having been brought officially under my notice by the military authorities, I thought it my duty to inform you of the reference made in those letters to your legation, and to that in London. The delay occurred now and then in the transmission of your dispatch-bags is not occasioned by any doubt as to the right of your government to correspond with you, but by obstacles it was out of my power to remove. I hope that for the future there will not be any more delay of that kind.

I avail myself, &c., &c.,

v. BISMARCK.

No. 157.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 355.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 30, 1871. (Received February 18.)

SIR: The crisis has at last been reached. In my dispatch of a week ago, No. 351, I spoke of the discouraging state of things in Paris, but of the still resolute determination of the people not to surrender. I added, however, that the city might fall suddenly, and the siege be ended before my dispatch should reach you. The disturbances of Sunday, the 22d instant, and the additional news which the government received on Monday, of the substantial defeat of all the outside armies, taken in connection with the utter impossibility to feed Paris but a few days longer, all taken together imperatively demanded immediate action on the part of the French authorities. Paris had held out beyond every reasonable calculation, and the population had suffered all the horrors of famine, cold, and bombardment. From the 27th of this month only seven days of provisions remained, limiting to each one only the small possible amount necessary to sustain human life. On Monday evening, a week ago, negotiations were commenced at Versailles between Mr. Jules Favre and the Count de Bismarck. Of course the greatest anxiety has existed in Paris as to what would be the result of those negotiations. The general idea has been that Paris, resisting to the end, would have to capitulate unconditionally. Such a thing as a general armistice was not contemplated, and while Paris should fall into the hands of the Prussians, it was supposed that the government of the National Defense would still hold its existence in the provinces and continue the war *à outrance*. I was myself inclined to take the same opinion, and in view of the probable fact that in case of a surrender

there would be no shadow of a government of France at Paris, I wrote to you in my No. 338, asking for instructions as to the course I should pursue in such an emergency. I thought that it would be necessary in such case to leave Paris and repair to the seat of the French Government. Instead of the absolute surrender of the city and the military possession of it by the Prussians, we have the armistice, a copy of which, from the official journal, I have the honor to send you herewith. I do not see anything in the present situation which will necessitate my leaving Paris to repair to Bordeaux, for the seat of government will remain here until such a time at least as the armistice shall expire and peace fail to be made.

I also send you the decree of the government of the national defense convoking the national assembly at Bordeaux on the 12th proximo, and also fixing the number of delegates to the assembly. You will see that the number of delegates to the assembly is seven hundred and fifty-three, which I think is quite too large, particularly when it is considered that the assembly would have but one week in which to conclude the important work for which it has been convoked. We are now entering on a new and interesting phase of the events which have been convulsing, not only the belligerent powers, but the whole civilized world, for the last six months. It is to be seen whether a peace can be made on terms which will be acceptable by the French nation, or whether the war is to be indefinitely continued. You will be likely to receive full information by telegraph of the action growing out of this armistice and of the national assembly before this dispatch shall reach you, and I will not, therefore, indulge in any speculations as to the probable shape which things will take.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 158.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 356.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 30, 1871. (Received February 18.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the reply of Count de Bismarck to the diplomatic corps in relation to the bombardment of Paris, without previous notice, together with a copy of the rejoinder of Mr. Kern.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

Count de Bismarck-Schoenhausen, chancellor of the North German Confederation, at Versailles, to Mr. Kern, minister of the Swiss Confederation at Paris.

VERSAILLES, January 17, 1871.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive the letter of the 13th of this month, signed by you and by the minister of the United States, as well as by several diplomatic agents formerly accredited to Paris, in which, invoking the principles of the law of nations, you request me to use my influence with the military authorities in order that such measures may be taken as will enable the fellow-countrymen of the signers of the letter to protect themselves and their property during the siege of Paris.

I regret that it is impossible for me to admit that the reclamations which the signers

of the letter have done me the honor to address to me, find in the principles of international law the authority necessary to justify them. It is undeniable that the determination, standing alone in modern history, to transform the capital of a great country into a fortress, and to make a vast fortified camp of its environs, including nearly three millions of inhabitants, has created for those inhabitants a distressing state of things which is much to be regretted. The responsibility falls exclusively upon those who have chosen to make of this capital a fortress and a battle-field. Under all circumstances, those persons who have chosen their residence in a fortress, and continued of their own accord to reside there during the war, should have been prepared for the inconveniences which have ensued.

Paris being the most important fortress in France, in which the enemy has concentrated his principal forces, which, from their fortified positions in the midst of the population, constantly attack the German armies by their sorties and by the fire of their artillery, no good reason can be alleged why the German generals should give up the attack upon this fortified position, or conduct their military operations in a manner which would be in contradiction with the object they have in view.

I take the liberty to recall to you, in this place, that on our side nothing has been neglected to preserve the peaceful proportion of the population belonging to neutral countries from the inconveniences and the dangers inseparable from a siege. On the 26th of September last, the secretary of state, Mr. de Thile, addressed a circular upon this subject to the ministers accredited to Berlin, and I stated for my part, in a letter bearing date October 10th last, addressed to his excellency the Papal nuncio, and other diplomatic agents still residing at Paris, that the inhabitants would henceforth have to bear the effects of military operations. A second circular, dated October 4th last, attempted to show the consequences which must result to the civil population of Paris from a resistance prolonged to extremities. On the 29th of the same month the contents of this circular were communicated by me to the minister of the United States of America, whom I begged at the same time to communicate it to the members of the diplomatic corps. It results, from what precedes, that warnings and recommendations to leave the besieged city have not been wanting to the subjects of the neutral powers, although these warnings, inspired by a sentiment of humanity and by the consideration which we desire to show toward citizens belonging to friendly nations, are as little prescribed by the principles of international law as the permissions which were granted to pass our lines.

The recognized usages and principles of the law of nations require still less that the besieger should notify the besieged of the military operations which he thinks it necessary to undertake in the course of the siege, as I have already had the honor to state as regards the bombardment, in a letter addressed to Mr. Jules Favre on the 26th of September last.

It was evident that the bombardment of Paris must take place if resistance was prolonged, and it was therefore to be looked for.

Although an example of a fortified city of such importance, and inclosing within its walls armies and material of war so numerous and abundant, was unknown to Vattel, he says upon this subject :

"To destroy a city by shells and hot shot is an extremity which must not be resorted to without very strong reasons. But it is authorized, however, by the laws of war, when it is impossible to reduce otherwise an important place, upon which may depend the success of the war, or which may serve to inflict dangerous blows."

In the present case, it would be the more unjustifiable to raise an objection against the siege of Paris, inasmuch as our intention is not at all to destroy the city, (which would, however, be permissible, according to the principle laid down by Vattel), but to render untenable the central and fortified position where the French army prepares its attacks upon the German troops, and which serves them for a place of refuge after such attacks. I take the liberty finally to remind you, sir, as well as the other signers of the letter of the 13th instant, that after the warnings had been given, which I have recalled to your recollections, it was nevertheless permitted during whole months to those neutrals who made the request, to pass our lines without other restriction than their identity and their nationality should be certified, and that to this day our avant-postes place at the disposition of the members of the corps diplomatic, and of those persons whose presence is required by their governments or by their diplomatic agents, the safe-conduct necessary for them to pursue their journey. Many of the signers of the letter of January 13th instant were notified some months since that they could pass our lines, and they have for a long time had the authorization of their respective governments to leave Paris. Hundreds of subjects of the neutral powers, whose representatives have addressed to us the same requests in their favor, are in a similar position. We have no authentic knowledge of the reasons which have prevented them from availing themselves of a permission which they have had for a long time; but if private communications are to be believed, it is the French authorities who have opposed their departure, and even that of the diplomatic representatives. If this information is correct, we can only recommend to those who are compelled against their

will to remain in Paris to address their complaints and their protestations to the representatives of the existing power. Under all circumstances, I feel authorized, after what I have stated, not to admit, as far as the German authorities are concerned, the assertion contained in the letter of January 13th instant, that the countrymen of the signers have been prevented from withdrawing themselves from danger by the "difficulties opposed to their departure by the belligerents."

We will even maintain, at this day, the permission accorded to the members of the diplomatic corps to pass our lines, considering this to be a duty of international courtesy, however difficult and injurious it may be to our military operations in the present state of the siege. As regards their numerous countrymen, I regret that I cannot, at the present day, see any mode, other than the surrender of Paris, for them to withdraw themselves from the dangers inseparable from the siege of a fortress.

If it were admissible in a military point of view to organize the departure from Paris of a portion of the population, which may readily be estimated at 50,000 men, with their families and their property, we should not have the supplies to feed them, or be able to provide for their transportation the means which would be necessary to enable them to cross the zone which the French authorities caused to be abandoned and stripped of all its resources before the investment of the city. We find ourselves in the sad condition of entire inability to subordinate military operations to the sympathies with which the sufferings of the civil population of Paris inspire us. Our line of conduct is rigorously prescribed by the necessities of war, and by the duty of guarding our troops against new attacks by the enemy's army. After our conscientious observance of the convention of Geneva, which we have given proof of under the most difficult circumstances, it would be superfluous to give the assurance that the German artillery does not direct its fire intentionally upon buildings occupied by women, children, and sick persons. In consequence of the very nature of the fortifications of Paris, and of the distance at which our batteries are still placed, it is as difficult for us to prevent damage by accident to buildings which we would desire to spare as to prevent wounds from being inflicted upon the civil population, which are to be deplored in every siege. If these painful accidents, which we sincerely regret, occur in Paris on a larger scale than in other besieged fortresses, we must conclude that either it should not have been converted into a fortress, or that it should not have prolonged its defense beyond a certain period. In no case can it be permitted to any people, after having declared war against its neighbors, to preserve its principal fortress from surrender by invoking the kind consideration of the enemy for the inoffensive population, for the foreigners who dwell in the fortress, or for the hospitals which may be there, in the midst of which its troops seek shelter, and where, after each of their attacks, they are enabled to prepare others under the shelter of these hospitals.

I beg you, sir, to have the kindness to bring my reply to the knowledge of the signers of the letter of January 13th instant, and to receive the renewed assurance of my high consideration.

v. BISMARCK.

[Inclosure.]

The minister of the Swiss Confederation at Paris to Count de Bismarck-Schoenhausen, chancellor of the North German Confederation, at Versailles.

PARIS, January 23, 1871.

SIR: I had the honor to receive the reply addressed by your excellency, the 17th instant, to the note signed on the 13th of the same month by the members of the diplomatic corps at Paris, as well as by a certain number of members of the consular corps, in the absence of their respective embassies and legations. In accordance with the wish expressed by your excellency, I immediately communicated this reply to the signers of the note of January 13. I have been charged by their unanimous resolution to call your excellency's attention to certain errors contained in your reply.

Your excellency informs the signers that by a circular, bearing date October 4, you endeavored to show the consequences which must ensue to the civil population of Paris from a resistance prolonged to its extreme limit, and you add, "On the 29th of the same month this circular was communicated by me to the minister of the United States of America, whom I begged at the same time to communicate it to the members of the diplomatic corps." After having made the necessary examination, Mr. Washburne declares that no communication expressing a wish of the kind has been received by him, and that this statement is erroneous. In another passage of your reply, your excellency expresses yourself as follows: "I believe myself authorized, in accordance with what I have just stated, not to admit (as far as the German authorities are concerned) the assertion contained in the letter of January 13, that the countrymen of the signers were prevented from withdrawing themselves from danger by the difficulties opposed to their departure by the belligerents."

While acknowledging the readiness with which your excellency placed at the beginning of the siege "sauf conduits" at the disposal of persons belonging to neutral states, and not denying the fact that the French military authorities thought proper to revoke at the commencement of November permission before granted, it nevertheless results from the declaration of several members of the diplomatic and consular corps, that in the course of the same month your excellency informed them that the German military authorities had "resolved to grant to no one permission to cross the lines of the besieging troops." The signers of the note were therefore correct in declaring that "difficulties had been put in the way of the departure of the *belligerents*."

Your excellency adds that, in accordance with private communications which you have received, the French authorities opposed the departure of the diplomatic representatives of neutral states. This fact not having been brought within the knowledge of any one of the chiefs of the diplomatic corps present at Paris, it may be assumed that these private communications were founded upon erroneous information. On submitting to a fresh examination the correspondence upon this subject, you will easily convince yourself, sir, of the accuracy of the corrections which I have had the honor to submit to you. As regards the *substance* of their request, it appears to the signers of the "note" of January 13 that the point of view in which the German military authorities have placed themselves is too widely different from their own, and that the refusal is conceived in too positive terms to permit that any further argument upon the principles and usages of the law of nations should reach the desired conclusion. They cannot, however, omit to observe that your excellency principally endeavors to show, invoking the authority of Vattel, that the laws of war authorize, as a last extremity, the bombardment of a fortified city. The intention of the signers of the "note" of January 13 was not to contest this extreme right. They confine themselves to affirming, and they believe that they can maintain, in accord with the best authorities on modern international law, and with the precedents of the different periods, the rule that the bombardment of a fortified city should be preceded by notice.

There remains, therefore, only to the diplomatic and consular representatives of the neutral states, in consequence of the duties which are imposed upon them by the gravity of the situation, and of the importance of the interests at stake—the duty to communicate to their respective governments the correspondence exchanged with your excellency, while always insisting upon the substantial foundation of their request.

It may be permitted me, in conclusion, to express in the name of the signers of the "note" of January 13, as well as in my own, my lively and sincere regret that the German military authorities could not resolve to reconcile the necessities of war with the wish to diminish the sufferings of the civil population of every nationality residing in Paris.

I take this occasion to beg you to receive, sir, &c.
The minister of the Swiss Confederation,

KERN.

No. 159.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 358.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, February 4, 1871. (Received February 23.)

SIR: In transmitting my correspondence with Count Bismarck, in relation to the dispatch-bag, to you, one letter from me to him was omitted, and I have the honor to inclose you herewith a copy thereof, to be placed with the correspondence.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[*In closure.*]

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, January 2, 1871.

SIR: I beg leave to thank you for sending my dispatch-bag at an earlier period than heretofore. I am enabled thus to answer the dispatches of my government to go out

by the courier to-morrow morning. I should be very glad if they could arrive in London by Friday, so as to go by the Saturday steamer. I duly received the London journals, and it is unnecessary to say that their contents have been most strictly guarded. I think there must have been some misapprehension in London in regard to my private letters. Mr. Moran, our chargé d'affaires, writes me that he was not permitted to send me any letters, except from my wife, who is now at Brussels. The consequence is that private letters to me from the United States minister at Brussels, from my son, who is in college in the United States, another son, who is at school in London, as well as a great many letters from my personal and political friends at home, have been detained, and are now at London. As the greater includes the less, I suppose that, after you had kindly conceded to me the journals containing military and political information, there would be no objection to my receiving my private correspondence, having probably no reference to such matters, but if containing any information, it would be equally guarded with information I obtain from the journals. If such should be your understanding, I would be very glad if you would so telegraph to London, so my letters can come to me by the bag which leaves London next Friday. I should hope by the following Wednesday to receive them.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 160.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Extracts.]

No. 362.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, February 5, 1871. (Received February 23.)

SIR : During the past week the people of Paris have been patiently and quietly awaiting the *ravitaillement*, and agitating the question of the election of members to the national assembly which is to convene at Bordeaux on the 12th instant. Small quantities of provisions have commenced coming in to-day.

The first train contained supplies sent by the population of London to the population of Paris. These supplies have been distributed among the twenty arrondissements in proportion to their respective population, and are to be given out only to the most necessitous. It will be but a short time I hope before all can be reasonably supplied. The lower classes in the city have during the last months of the siege suffered untold miseries of cold and hunger, and with a patience and fortitude which does them great credit. Indeed the suffering of all classes has been very great, and it might be said that all classes have sustained the sufferings and privations of the siege in a manner that must excite the wonder and admiration of the world. * * * * *

Now that the siege is over I am thankful that I have remained through it all, for I believe that I have been of some service to the interests with which I have been charged. It is with pleasure that I am enabled to state that I have succeeded in protecting all American property in Paris, and that no harm has come to any of our Americans who have remained here. This statement must be qualified, however, so as not to apply to the young American, Mr. Swager, who lost his life by having his foot torn to pieces by a Prussian shell, and to the two young men whose property was destroyed by the bursting of a shell in their apartment in the Latin quarter.

Several attempts were made to interfere with American property at different times, but I must give the government of the National Defense the credit to say that they have treated all such matters as I have deemed it necessary to bring to their attention with the utmost fairness and consideration. In the first place it was proposed to quarter the garde mobile in the American apartments, but upon an application

to Gambetta, then minister of the interior, he gave an order that it should not be done. Afterward the city authorities proposed a special tax upon the apartments of the absent, which bore very heavily upon our countrymen. I had a correspondence with M. Jules Favre upon that subject, which I had the honor to transmit you and by which you will have seen that the city authorities were overruled and the tax not enforced. Then it was proposed to put the refugees from the neighboring villages, who had come into Paris, into the apartments of some of the Americans. I resisted that, and the intention was not carried out. And when the bombardment took place, and the people from that part of the city exposed to the shells were driven out, it was proposed to shelter them in the vacant apartments in the other parts of the city. Many of the apartments of the Americans were threatened in this way, but I gave orders that in no case would I consent to have the furnished apartments of Americans occupied in this manner, and I am happy to say that no apartment has thus been occupied. And lastly, after the armistice was declared, and all the troops came into the city, another attempt was made to quarter soldiers and officers also in the vacant apartments of Americans, but I protested against that, and no apartment has yet been occupied in that way. I hope, therefore, that when our country people return to their homes in Paris they will find everything in as good condition as when they left.

Very little damage has been done to the property of the people of other nationalities with whose protection I have been charged. At an early period the home of a German, Mr. Hedler, was invaded by the garde mobile in search of Prussian spies, and some damage was done to the furniture. Upon my representation of the matter to the government, Count de Kératry, who was then the prefect of police, took the affair promptly in hand, brought the offending parties to punishment, and permitted agents selected by me to assess the damages, which were promptly paid. Immediately after the breaking out of the war I took under my protection the magnificent hotel of the Prussian embassy in the Rue de Lille. All the persons who had charge of it, even down to the concierge, had been expelled from France, and as it seemed to be the objective point of the hostility of the Parisian population, I had great fears of its safety. I at once placed it under the charge of an American friend in Paris, who has exercised a most vigilant guardianship over it, and protected it from all harm. While there has been a good deal of hostility against me among a certain number of the population of Paris during the siege, and while I have been assailed in the clubs and in the newspapers on account of my protection of the Germans, I have no cause whatever for complaint against the government of the National Defense, but have been treated by them with the greatest kindness and with all the consideration due to me as the diplomatic representative of our country.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 161.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 365.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, February 8, 1871.

SIR: I received yesterday a telegraphic dispatch from Mr. Moran, through the intermediary of Count de Bismarck, stating that £2,000

had been placed to my credit with the banking-house of J. S. Morgan & Co., London, as a first installment of a subscription in New York City for the "poor of France." I immediately called on Mr. Jules Favre to consult him as to the best manner of distributing this fund, and he suggested that the portion of it to go to Paris and the surrounding villages should be placed in the hands of Mr. Ernest Picard, the minister of finance, who would associate with him a commission, to include one American, who would attend to its distribution. I have named Mr. Joseph Karrick Riggs, long a resident of Paris, and a gentleman of honor, responsibility, and intelligence. I have this day sent to Mr. Favre 35,000 francs, to go into the hands of Mr. Picard. I have sent 12,500 francs to Stephen S. Lee, esq., a responsible American gentleman residing at Tours, to be distributed among the poor in the valley of the Loire. No man can make a more just and satisfactory distribution than Mr. Lee. I have retained 2,500 francs in my own hands for future disposition. This amount sent me is represented as the "first installment." By the time another installment arrives I hope to be fully advised as to the distribution it will be best to make of it. The sufferings of the poor in all parts of France where the hostile armies have been, are so terrible that it is very hard to discriminate as to the localities where aid shall be sent.

I have no knowledge of the benevolent parties who have made this generous subscription in the city of New York, and I am, therefore, unable to communicate with them as to what I have done thus far. If you shall know them, perhaps you will deem it proper to communicate to them the contents of this dispatch.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 162.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 366.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, February 18, 1871. (Received March 9.)

SIR: I returned from Brussels to Paris on Wednesday last, after an absence of a few days on a visit to my family, and have since been confined to my bed by a severe bilious attack. Things have progressed in a very quiet and satisfactory manner since the armistice. Provisions have come rapidly into the city and there is now no further want. I have not been out of my house since my return, but I am told there has been the most wonderful change in the appearance of things all over the city; and if, happily, peace should come to France, we shall all soon forget the horrors of the last few months. You must receive quite as early and quite as full accounts as I do of the proceedings at Bordeaux. Matters are taking a more favorable shape there than I had supposed they would. Thiers is to-day the leading spirit in France, and I anticipate that in due time we shall have a government called a "Republic," with Thiers at its head. There are many, however, who insist that the Orleans dynasty will come in. The empire has fallen, and the late proclamation of Louis Napoleon has been badly received.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 163.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 367.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, February 18, 1871. (Received March 9.)

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of a translation of an official letter from Mr. Jules Favre, acknowledging the receipt of thirty-five thousand francs sent to him by me from the fund remitted from New York for the poor of France, and also a translation of a copy of an unofficial note of the same purport.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

*Mr. Farre to Mr. Washburne.**PARIS, February 10, 1871.*

SIR: I have received, with the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 8th of this month, a check for thirty-five thousand francs, representing the amount of the subscription opened at New York in favor of the French poor who have suffered from the present calamities. I hasten to thank you for the gift of these funds, and I shall be obliged to you if you will inform the citizens of New York who have united in this subscription of our profound gratitude for their generous assistance. I have agreed with the minister of finances that the distribution of the amount which you have sent me shall be made through a commission, of which Mr. J. Karrick Riggs is, according to your wish, to be a member.

Receive, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

[Inclosure 2.—Translation.]

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

SIR: I am infinitely touched by the striking mark of sympathy which my country receives from your free America, and I beg you to convey the impression of my gratitude to your countrymen of New York who have been kind enough to take the initiative in this generous offering addressed to France so cruelly tried. I transmit to-day to my colleague, M. Picard, minister of the finances, the check for thirty-five thousand francs you have had the kindness to send me, begging him to name, for the distribution of this amount, a commission, of which Mr. Joseph Karrick Riggs shall be a member—the gentleman whom you have named, and who will hasten to take your instructions.

I take this occasion to renew the assurances with which I have the honor to be,
JULES FAVRE.

No. 164.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 368.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, February 21, 1871. (Received March 9.)

SIR: We have reached another stage in the progress of the extraordinary events which have convulsed France for the last seven months. M. Thiers having been named by the National Assembly at Bordeaux chief of the executive power and president of the council of ministers of the French Republic, has selected his ministers. The new ministry

is announced in the Journal Officiel of this morning. I advised you of the fact of the complete organization of this new government by telegraph this morning, and asked instructions. Four of the old ministers are in the new ministry. Much to my gratification M. Jules Favre retains the portfolio of foreign affairs, M. Ernest Picard has been transferred from the finance to the interior department, M. Jules Simon remains in the public instruction, and General Le Flo in the war. The minister of finance has not yet been designated; rumor has it that this portfolio will be confided to Buffet, one of the late ministers of finance under the empire. He has the reputation of being an honest and capable man; but, when he was minister, he distinguished himself by his opposition to any liberal postal treaty with our government. Of the other ministers, De Larcy is the minister of public works, Lambrecht is the minister of commerce, and Vice-Admiral Pothuan is minister of the marine and the colonies. The antecedents of the last three gentlemen named I am not familiar with. All the gentlemen have accepted the portfolios which have been confided to them.

Messrs. Thiers, Favre, and Picard arrived yesterday from Bordeaux, and to-day Mr. Thiers has gone to Versailles to open negotiations for a peace. The national convention at Bordeaux, after having appointed fifteen commissioners to assist in the peace negotiations, took a recess until negotiations shall have been concluded.

I have the honor to send you the communication which Mr. Thiers made to the National Assembly at Bordeaux on Sunday last. I am sure you will read with profound interest that wonderful production of that venerable and patriotic man. He is now the leading figure in France. The nation leans upon him with hope and confidence.

My health has not permitted me to be out in the city for the last few days, but I understand that a most wonderful change has taken place; that Paris has become quite herself again. The tone of the press, however, shows there is intense anxiety in regard to the peace. The great problem must soon be solved, for it is evident, from the expression of the German official paper at Versailles, that the whole matter must be settled without much further delay. Of all these matters you will be fully advised by telegraph before you receive this dispatch.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 165.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

No. 239.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 24, 1871.

SIR: Your Nos. 350, 353, and 358, severally dated 23d, 30th ultimo, and 4th instant, have been received.

Your letters to Count Bismarck on the subject of the dispatch-bag, and its conveyance to and from Paris, meets the entire approval of the department. It is dignified, forcible, and just.

It was not unnatural that the powers besieging Paris during their long and terrible efforts should have had their susceptibilities aroused at times, by the various rumors and statements (originated and put in circulation possibly for the very purpose of operating upon those susceptibilities) of information prejudicial to their military operations being conveyed into and from the beleaguered capital.

S. Ex. 24—10

But it would be very much to be regretted, and would have been very unjust, had even a momentary suspicion found its lodgment in minds capable of achieving the results that have attended the civil and military operations of Germany toward the representative of a friendly state, and that representative being the one who, at the request of Germany, and with the consent of his own government, had charged himself with the arduous and critical duty of the care and protection of the German residents shut in with the millions of Frenchmen in the capital which Germany was endeavoring to reduce by siege, starvation, and bombardment.

The President observes, however, with satisfaction the very just disclaimer of any suspicion of the good faith of our conduct, in the letter of the chancellor of the North German Union to you, under date of 28th January last.

The question of the right of uninterrupted correspondence between a neutral power and its representative, duly accredited and resident in the capital of a belligerent, which, while he is thus resident, becomes the object of attack and siege by another belligerent, is now, happily, no longer one of immediate practical application.

It is satisfactory to notice that although Count Bismarck, in his note addressed to you on 6th December last, speaks of "obtaining for the legation of the United States the privilege of receiving closed dispatches," in his note of January 28 from Versailles he recognizes the principle asserted by me in a note addressed to Baron Gerolt on 21st November last (of which a copy was sent to you with my No. 206 of 22d November), and admits of no "doubt as to the right of your government to correspond with you."

The delays and interruptions to that right are, I trust, wholly of the past, and may have been, and it is hoped were, the unavoidable accidents of the then pending military strife. In the absence of any recurrence we are content with the recognition so fully made by Count Bismarck of the right which we claimed.

I inclose herewith for your archives, and in connection with the correspondence on this subject, a copy of a dispatch from Mr. Bancroft of 21st January, with a translation of a letter to him from Count Bismarck of 15th January last, replying to my note of 21st November (above referred to), addressed to Baron Gerolt, and of my reply to Mr. Bancroft of this date.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

Inclosures.

Mr. Bancroft to Mr. Fish, No. 183, January 21, 1871. Mr. Fish to Mr. Bancroft, No. 296, February 24, 1871. (See Foreign Relations, 1871, pages 372, 377.)

No. 166.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 373.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, February 28, 1871. (Received March 20.)

SIR: The treaty of peace between France and the new German Empire, to be ratified hereafter by the National Assembly at Bordeaux, was signed at Versailles on Sunday afternoon last. It has not yet been pub-

lished, but the principal conditions are well understood. The news of the signing of the treaty was received in Paris on Sunday evening, and it created, as you may well understand, a very profound impression. The condition that a portion of Paris is to be occupied by thirty thousand German troops until the ratification of the treaty has produced an intense feeling, but I am in hopes the city will pass through this trying ordeal without any scenes of violence. It was generally supposed that the greater part of the German army about Paris would make a triumphant entry into the city, marching through its principal avenues, but without quartering in any part of it. The change in the proposed programme, by having a smaller number of the troops enter and remain here until the peace is ratified at Bordeaux, would seem to indicate that this partial occupation of the city was intended as a pressure on the National Assembly to hasten its action. The government has made a strong appeal, counseling forbearance and moderation, and the press has, with great unanimity, seconded such appeal. Indeed, by a slip which I cut from one of the journals and inclose to you herewith, you will see that the publication of all the newspapers of Paris is to be suspended during the Prussian occupation. Our legation is situated in that part of the city which is to be occupied by the German troops, and it is in this part that the greatest number of American residents have their apartments. There has been a great deal of alarm felt by our countrymen lest the German troops might be quartered upon them, but I yesterday wrote Count Bismarck on the subject, and called his attention to the correspondence between Mr. Bancroft and Mr. von Thile in regard to the protection of American property in the event of the entry of German troops into Paris, to the end that such orders might be given by their military authorities as would secure protection to all American property in the city. I will say there can be no reasonable doubt of the ratification of the treaty by the assembly at Bordeaux. You undoubtedly will have the full text of it by telegraph long before this dispatch will reach you, and you will be able to form a judgment upon it, and determine in your own mind whether the peace now to be secured will be a lasting one. It is impossible to tell what will be the influence of time upon the French people, but I think it is safe to say that to-day there exists all over France such a feeling of hatred toward the Prussians as is almost without a parallel in the history of nations. The article which I send you herewith from the Siècle, one of the oldest and ablest of the French journals, will give you a pretty good idea of the prevailing sentiment in France upon this subject.

The principal negotiators of the treaty on the French side were Messrs. Thiers and Favre. A more cruel task was probably never before imposed on patriotic men, and it was only during the final hours of the armistice that the treaty was signed. I am advised by the most reliable authority that the great "hitch" was in regard to the cession of the Fortress of Belfort. That was persistently demanded by the Germans and equally persistently refused by the French negotiators, and at last Mr. Thiers declared absolutely that he would sign no treaty which ceded Belfort, though the Germans were willing to agree that they would not enter Paris if they could have Belfort. I think the retention of this important fortress by France will do much to reconcile the Parisians to the entry of the Germans into their city. Some of the American residents of Paris have already returned here, and as soon as peace shall have been definitely made, and the railroad trains shall be running regularly for passengers and baggage, I shall expect to see them all back. There has been considerable alarm expressed as to the future

health of the city, but I believe it is without any reasonable foundation. The number of deaths per week is decreasing. Provisions are now plenty and cheaper than before the siege. The great want here now is the means of locomotion, the greater number of the horses having been killed for food during the siege, but as soon as peace is made that want will be supplied. Paris has already become again quite Parisian, and during the last few pleasant days the streets have been filled by the same light-hearted population, presenting that cheerful aspect which so peculiarly belongs to this historic city. But when you go outside the walls the destruction and devastation of war can hardly be described. The most fearful and complete change is at St. Cloud; that beautiful village, with its magnificent palace, rich in the associations of centuries, is literally one mass of ruins. The Bois de Boulogne, stripped of its trees, is a sad sight, recalling to mind the fate which befell it under somewhat similar circumstances in 1815. The interior of Paris is not much changed. A great many large and beautiful trees on many of the avenues have been cut down, but the smaller trees are left standing, so the alteration is not so great as to be much remarked.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 167.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 376.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 1, 1871. (Received March 20.)

SIR: They have come in. At 9 o'clock this a. m. three blue hussars entered the Port Maillot, proceeded up the avenue of the Grand Army, and walked their horses slowly down the magnificent avenue of the Champs Elysées, with carbines cocked and fingers upon the trigger. These hussars looked carefully into the side streets and proceeded slowly down the avenue. But few people were out at that early hour in the morning. Soon after, six more made their appearance by the same route, and every few minutes thereafter the number increased. Then came in the main body of the advance guard, numbering about one thousand men, consisting of cavalry and infantry, Bavarian and Prussian, forming part of the eleventh corps, under the command of General Kamichi. By this time the crowd on the Champs Elysées had increased and met the advancing Germans with hisses and insult. A portion of the German troops then halted and with great deliberation loaded their pieces, whereat the crowd, composed of boys and "roughs," incontinently took to their heels. According to a previous understanding among the French, all the shops and restaurants along the route had been closed, but notwithstanding their vigorous asseverations that no consideration whatever would induce them to look upon or speak to the "Prussians," I found, on going to the Champs Elysées at half past nine o'clock, a large number of them attracted thither by a curiosity which they were unable to resist. In walking down the avenue to the point where the main body of the force had halted, in front of the Palace of Industry, notwithstanding the vehement protestations that had been made that no Frenchman would look at or speak to a German soldier, I counted a body of twenty-five French people, men, women, and children, in the most cordial fraternization with the German soldiers. Stopping for a moment to listen to the agreeable conversation which appeared to be carried on, a German

soldier advanced to salute me, and addressed me by name; he turned out to be the clerk at a hotel at Homburg les Bains, where I had lodged during my visit to that place in 1867 and 1869. From what I learn this evening the great body of the troops were reviewed by the Emperor of the new German Empire at Long Champs, before their entry into Paris. Instead, therefore, of the great mass of the troops entering at ten o'clock, as had been previously announced, it was not until about half past one o'clock in the afternoon that the royal guard of Prussia, in four solid bodies, surrounded the Arc of Triumph. Then a company of Uhlans, with their spears stuck in their saddles, and ornamented by the little flags of blue and white, headed the advancing column. They were followed by the Saxons, with their light blue coats, who were succeeded by the Bavarian riflemen, with their heavy uniform and martial tread. Afterward followed more of the Uhlans, and occasionally a squad of the Bismarck cuirassiers, with their white jackets, square hats and waving plumes, recalling to mind, perhaps, among the more intelligent French observers, the celebrated cuirassiers of Nansouty and La Tour Maubourg, in the wars of the First Napoleon. Now come the artillery, with its pieces of six, which must have extorted the admiration of all military men by its splendid appearance and wonderful precision of movement. Next fell into line the royal guard of Prussia, with their shining casques and glittering bayonets, which had been massed around the world-renowned Arc of Triumph, erected (and with what bitter sarcasm it may now be said!) to the glory of the grand army. I witnessed this entry from the balcony of the apartment of Mr. Cowdin, at the head of the Champs Elysées. A good many French people were on the sidewalks, on either side of the avenue. At first the troops were met with hisses, cat-calls, and all sorts of insulting cries, but as they poured in thicker and faster, and forming by companies, as they swept down the avenue to the strains of martial music, the crowd seemed to be awed into silence, and no other sound was heard but the tramp of the soldiery and the occasional word of command. The only disturbance I saw was occasioned by some individual advancing from the sidewalk and giving his hand to a German cavalryman, whereat the crowd "went for" him; but his backing seemed so powerful that the discontents soon dispersed without inflicting any injury. The entry of the main body of the troops occupied about two hours, and, after that, they began to disperse into the various quarters of the city to which they had been assigned, in search of their lodgings. We were busily engaged at the legation almost the entire day endeavoring to secure protection for American apartments and property, and which will be made the subject of another and further communication. At 5 o'clock I went to see Mr. Jules Favre, in relation to the sudden and indiscriminate billeting of the German soldiers upon the American residents, and learned from him of the probabilities of the ratification of the treaty of peace by the assembly at Bordeaux this evening, and of his hopes that everything would be settled before to-morrow morning, and that the German troops would be withdrawn from the city to-morrow. He seemed to think there was no doubt of the ratification of the treaty. He had been in hopes that it would have been ratified last night, and thus have prevented the entry of the Germans into Paris at all. But Mr. Thiers had been unfortunately delayed in reaching Bordeaux, which necessitated the postponement of action until to-day. Mr. Favre said he would send me notice of the ratification of the treaty the moment he received it, in order that I might telegraph you of the result. Starting to return to my residence on the other side of the Seine, I found the bridge guarded

by French soldiers, who resolutely refused to let me pass. Soon a large crowd of "roughs" appeared and attempted to force the guard, and for a time it looked as if a sharp little battle was to be improvised. After standing around for about an hour, I was enabled, by the courtesy of a French officer, to slip through the guard and finally to reach my residence. My coachman was so thoroughly penetrated with fear of the "Prussians," that he utterly refused to harness his horse during the day, and, as I have been obliged to be upon my feet most of the time since morning, you can well imagine my fatigue as I sit down to write this dispatch in the evening.

As I now write it is eleven o'clock at night. The day opened cloudy and somber, with a raw and chilly atmosphere. A little after noon the sun came out bright and warm, and the close of the day was magnificent. Colonel Hoffman and Mr. Harrisson, who have been through the city this evening, have come in to report as to the situation. From the Boulevard du Temple to the Arc of Triumph not a store or a restaurant is open, with the exception of two of the latter on the Champs Elysées, which the Germans have ordered to be kept open. There are no excited crowds on the boulevards, and, what is very remarkable and without precedent in the memory of the "oldest inhabitant," not an omnibus is running in the whole city and every omnibus office is closed. Neither is there a private or a public carriage to be seen, unless a hearse shall be deemed and taken as a "public carriage;" unfortunately, too many of which are to be seen now every hour of the day. Paris seems literally to have died out. There is neither song nor shout in all her streets. The whole population is marching about as if under a cloud of oppression. The gas is not yet lighted, and the streets present a sinister and somber aspect. All the butchers' and bakers' shops in that part of the city occupied by the Germans are closed, and if the people had not provided themselves for the emergency, there would have been much suffering. The Bourse has been closed by the order of the syndics of change. No newspaper has appeared to-day, except the Journal Official. No placards have been posted upon the walls of Paris, and, up to this moment, I can hear of no act of violence of any significance. I have, this evening, sent you a telegraphic dispatch stating that the entry of the German troops has been quiet and peaceful, and that all is calm in Paris. I do not know that it will reach you. The headquarters of General Kamichi, in command of the troops of the occupation, is in the splendid hotel of Christina, ex-Queen of Spain. It is but just to say that the people of Paris have borne themselves to-day with a degree of dignity and forbearance which does them infinite credit. I propose dispatching a special messenger to London to-morrow to take this and other dispatches, so that they may go by the steamer which leaves Liverpool on Saturday next at noon.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 168.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 379.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 2, 1871. (Received March 20.)

SIR : My messenger to London, who was to have left this morning, was unable to get off and only leaves this evening. I have but little to add to my dispatch of yesterday, No. 376. At an early hour this morn-

ing I received a note from Mr. Jules Favre, advising me of the ratification of the treaty at Bordeaux, and saying that he should go to Versailles this morning and demand from Mr. Bismarck its immediate execution. I at once sent you a telegram to that effect, a copy of which you will find in a separate dispatch. I had understood from Mr. Favre that one of the provisions of the treaty was that the German troops should leave Paris immediately on the ratification of the treaty by the National Assembly. I had supposed, therefore, that such troops would have left Paris in the course of this afternoon. Such, however, is not the case, for at this hour (6 o'clock p. m.) there seems to be a larger number of German troops in the city than there was at any time yesterday. Everything, however, is perfectly quiet. The Champs Elysées, from the Arc of Triumph to the Place de la Concorde, has to-day been crowded with German soldiers, and this afternoon I saw great numbers of French people on the avenue mingling with them. The shops and restaurants in many parts of the city remain closed, but in other parts, more remote from the portion occupied by the Germans, everything is going on as usual. In driving out through the Boulevard du Temple to the Bastile, and returning by the Rue St. Antoine and the Rue de Rivoli, as far as the Hotel de Ville, I found the stores all open, the omnibuses and carriages in the street as usual, and the streets filled with people. No one could have supposed that the hated enemy of France held military occupation of the city. The day has been remarkably pleasant. In all parts of the city where I have been, in which circulation has not been interdicted by the military authorities, the streets have been crowded with people, but yet there was no unusual excitement anywhere.

Lieutenant General Sheridan, accompanied by a member of his staff, General Forsyth, arrived here this afternoon from Bordeaux, which city he left at 6 o'clock last evening. I understand from him that he proposes to remain in the city for some time.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 169.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 3, 1871.

SIR: I am now giving assistance to twenty-nine hundred Germans. There are more than a thousand heads of families who have their little apartments. After so many mouths of famine, cold, and persecution, it is not to be wondered at that they are anxious to leave Paris now that peace is made. They are nearly all without any resources whatever. They owe their rent, and they cannot move their household effects until such rent is paid.

I beg leave to call the attention of your excellency to the condition of these people, whose terrible sufferings for the last few months will, I am certain, challenge your earnest sympathies.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,

&c., &c., &c.

Receipt dated March 4, 1871, given by Mr. Gerrish, counsel at Nantes, for 150 francs paid out to German subjects.

No. 170.

*Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 6, 1871.

SIR: I am in receipt of a letter from the United States consul at Mar-selles, to the effect that he has already repatriated seven German sailors, and that he proposes to repatriate nine more, at an expense of about 55 francs per man. I have answered him that I shall reimburse what he has already expended, but that, in view of the great expense and of the fact that peace has been made, I have desired him to make no further disbursements for the purpose, unless authorized by me. I do not propose to authorize such expenditures in future, unless your excellency should desire me to do so.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,

&c., &c., &c.

No. 171.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 384.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, March 8, 1871. (Received March 24.)

SIR: They have gone out. *Consummatum est.* In my No. 379 I spoke of the ratification of the treaty by the National Assembly at Bordeaux, my notification of the fact by Mr. Jules Favre, and the apparent delay of the German troops in leaving Paris.

These troops, that is, the thirty thousand of them, the number stipulated in the treaty, came in, as I wrote you, on Wednesday, the 1st day of this month. The third article of the treaty provided that immediately after the ratification of the treaty by the National Assembly, sitting at Bordeaux, the German troops should quit the interior of Paris. The ratification of the treaty was had on Wednesday evening, and the fact was telegraphed immediately to Mr. Jules Favre. At 6 o'clock on the next morning he left for Versailles to demand, in conformity to its provisions, the immediate evacuation of the interior of Paris. The German headquarters, however, refused to receive the telegraphic intelligence as conclusive evidence of the fact of ratification, and insisted upon a regularly certified copy of the proceedings of the National Assembly. It was not until eleven o'clock on Thursday morning that the special messenger arrived from Bordeaux with a regularly certified copy of the proceedings of the assembly ratifying the treaty, and at half past twelve Mr. Jules Favre, then armed with the official documents, again proceeded to Versailles to claim the exchange of ratifications. But it was not until nine o'clock on that evening (Thursday) that the details for the evacuation were regulated by the French and German military authorities. It was agreed that the evacuation should commence the next (Friday) morning at eight o'clock, and terminate at eleven. The German troops commenced moving out at the appointed time, marching up the Champs Elysées and passing under the Arch of

Triumph, with great cheering. At eleven o'clock precisely the last German soldier passed through the gate of the Porte Maillot, and Paris breathed free. During the occupation there was a good deal of excitement in that portion of the city occupied by the German troops, but there was no serious disturbance anywhere. Indeed, everything passed off much better than could have been anticipated. No sooner were the troops fairly on their way out of the city than the closed stores, cafés, restaurants, and hotels threw open their doors, the avenue Champs Elysées was swept and sprinkled, and the magnificent fountains in the Place de la Concorde began to play. At three o'clock in the afternoon (the day was splendid) all the invested part of the city, which had for two days been under the guise of a funeral pall, presented a most gay and cheerful aspect, and the people looked far happier than I had seen them for many long months.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 172.

Mr. Ward to Mr. Washburne.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 9, 1871.

SIR: According to your instructions, I took the necessary steps to have released from the prefecture depot the 74 German subjects who, having entered Paris without leave, had been arrested by the national guard and taken to the prefecture for protection, some of them being bearers of large sums of money, obligations, and so forth. They were yesterday afternoon conveyed to the Gate St. Lazare in cellular carriages, and thence by rail to Versailles, taken care of by the German military authorities for the night, and were forwarded to-day by military train to Germany.

The exasperated state of the Paris population rendered great precautions necessary, and their departure was fortunately effected safely, and at a small expense of 108 francs, including relief of 98 francs to the destitute.

The Germans detained for safety at the *Prison de la Santé* and *Communauté des Sœurs de la Croix* are being liberated, a few at a time, so as not to draw attention to them. Of these some thirty will probably wish to return to their country. Measures have been taken to carry them to Lagney, where they will take the German military trains for their homes, having received a small amount of pecuniary aid from this legation. Allow me to add, sir, that I have throughout received all aid and courtesy from the French police, prison and public authorities, in the dispatch of this business.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ALBERT LEE WARD.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURN, &c., &c., &c.

No. 173.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 11, 1871.

SIR I have the honor to inclose you herewith a report made to me by my private secretary in regard to the release from prison of certain

Germans who had been in Paris during the siege, and who had been arrested by the national guard and taken to the prefecture for protection.

I had the honor to address you a brief note on the 3d instant, calling your attention to the large number of Germans to whom I was giving assistance and who are anxious to leave Paris. I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving a reply to such a note.

I am again constrained to call your attention to the subject for the reason that the position of these poor people is becoming worse and worse every day, for since the peace the hostility of the people of Paris to the Germans remaining here has greatly increased, and threats are freely made that no German shall be permitted under any circumstances to remain in Paris. There is danger that acts of violence will be committed upon Germans who are now here. Indeed such acts have already been committed. Several of their places of business have been broken into and the contents destroyed.

An anti-Prussian league has been formed and is sending around anonymous letters to Germans, warning them to leave in twenty-four hours or take the consequences of remaining.

One of the city newspapers, of large circulation, has published a notice which has been placed upon the walls, calling upon all persons who know of Germans remaining in the city to send in their names, which is for the purpose of having them denounced to the public.

I send you inclosed two copies of the Paris Journal, in which you will see many of these denunciations. My advice is that Germans should not come to Paris during the present excited state of feeling.

I have thus far seen no indisposition on the part of the French authorities to protect, as far as they can, the persons and property of the Germans, but under present circumstances I fear that it will be impossible for them to afford any adequate protection.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency COUNT DE BISMARCK,

&c., &c., &c.

No. 174.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 389.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 15, 1871. (Received March 31.)

SIR : In my dispatch numbered 376, I had the honor to state that my efforts to secure protection for American apartments and property, during the occupation of Paris, would be made the subject of a further communication. You will recall to mind that, on the 29th of August last, looking to possibilities, I telegraphed and wrote to you, suggesting whether you would not ask the German Government to protect American property in Paris, in the event its army reached here. In your dispatch numbered 158, dated August 30, 1870, you state that "instructions will be forwarded by this day's post to Mr. Bancroft, to ask that in the event of the occupation of Paris by the German force, American property may be respected." In your dispatch numbered 190, and dated October 18, 1870, you state that Mr. Bancroft was "instructed to ask that proper

measures be taken by the government of North Germany for the protection of American property in Paris, in the event of the occupation of that city by the German forces." In reply Mr. Bancroft states, in his dispatch No. 143, dated September 29, 1870, that he had addressed to the secretary of foreign affairs a request that measures might be taken for the protection of the large amount of American property in Paris, upon its occupation by the German troops, and concludes as follows: "I append a translation of the reply of Mr. Von Thile conveying the desired assurances."

Notwithstanding the somewhat non-committal character of Mr. Von Thile's letter to Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Bancroft understood it, as I presume you did, and as I certainly did, that American property in Paris would be respected by the German troops in the event of their occupation of the city. As soon as it was officially announced that a certain number of German soldiers were to enter Paris, and as they were to occupy that portion of the city where the greatest number of Americans resided, I lost no time in addressing Count de Bismarck on the subject. A copy of my letter to him I send you herewith. In view of Mr. Von Thile's letter, and of the fact that French soldiers had not been billeted on Americans, I felt entirely confident that the German soldiers would not be quartered in American apartments. Although I sent my letter to Count Bismarck by a special messenger on the day on which it was written, I received no answer from him until eight o'clock on the evening of the 3d of March, nine hours after the last German soldier had left the city. A copy of that answer I inclose herewith for your information. On the day of the entry of the Germans into Paris the legation was filled by people who had charge of American apartments, and who had come to claim my protection for them, stating that the German soldiers had been billeted on them by direction of the mayor of Paris. I must confess I was somewhat surprised that the mayor of Paris had given such an order, as none had ever been enforced billeting French soldiers upon Americans.

It now appears that the mayor, or his subordinates, had undertaken to quarter as many German soldiers as possible on foreigners, particularly Americans, and spare their own people. I immediately made an appeal to German officers, in view of what I considered the meaning of Mr. Von Thile's letter to Mr. Bancroft, that American property should be respected, not to quarter their soldiers in the apartments of my countrymen. As they had no order on the subject they did not consider themselves bound to conform to the suggestion of Mr. Von Thile's letter, but in many instances, upon a statement of the case, they did not insist upon going into American apartments, but found lodgings elsewhere. In other instances they went in under threats of using force unless the apartments were opened to them, although the American flag was in all cases displayed, and the persons in charge had papers from me certifying that the property belonged to Americans, and was entitled to be respected as such. Occupying the apartments for so short a time, and upon full explanation of the ownership of the property, and upon an earnest request that it should not be damaged, I am happy to say that scarcely any injury has been inflicted upon a single apartment. I made it a matter of complaint to Mr. Jules Favre that the mayor of Paris had billeted so many of the German soldiers in the American apartments while so large a number of the French apartments had been spared. He expressed great regret at such being the case, and said the condition of things had come upon them so suddenly that everything had been done in great confusion, and that if any damage whatever happened to Amer-

ican property by the German troops, all such damage should be scrupulously paid for. But no claim for damages has yet been put in, and you can well imagine my relief in finding, at the end of the war, and after all the danger and tribulations through which we have passed in Paris, that out of American property estimated from seven to ten millions of dollars, the damage by the casualties resulting from the state of war does not amount to \$500, excepting always the horses which were taken by requisition for food at a stated price per pound, and not according to values.

* * * * *

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.]

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, February 28, 1871.

SIR: I had the honor of receiving your letter of yesterday's date on the subject of the forthcoming entry of German troops into Paris. In answer I beg to say, in confirmation of a letter of Baron Thile, of September 28, that the German troops, as a rule, respect private property, and that any of the exigencies of war necessitating a deviation from that rule is not likely to arise during the intended partial occupation of Paris.

Respecting the billeting of soldiers, how desirous soever we are to exempt or alleviate citizens of friendly states, who have their domicile or residence in France, I cannot acknowledge a claim to such exemption as founded in international law, landed property and tenements of aliens not bearing any character of exterritoriality.

I also beg to observe that the military authorities who have to provide quarters cannot be expected to enter into researches about proprietorship of houses, or relations between landlord, tenant, and occupant.

I have, &c.,

v. BISMARCK.

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

PARIS, February 27, 1871.

SIR: In view of the official announcement that a certain number of the German troops are to enter Paris on Wednesday next, to remain for sometime, and of the fact that the part of the city in which they are to be quartered contains a very great number of apartments of American citizens, and a large amount of American property, I beg leave to call the attention of your excellency to the correspondence upon this subject between Mr. de Thile and Mr. Bancroft. I have the honor to inclose a copy of Mr. de Thile's letter in reply to Mr. Bancroft, who had applied on behalf of my government to have American property in Paris respected in case of the entry of the German troops.

As fear has been expressed by some of my countrymen that German soldiers might be quartered in their apartments, I have thought proper to call your attention to this subject, to the end that such action may be taken by the North German military authorities as would carry out the purposes expressed by Mr. de Thile. The proprietors of nearly all the American property in Paris have been provided by me with protection papers and authorized to display the American flag.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 175.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 390.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 17, 1871. (Received March 31.)

SIR: Affairs in Paris for the past week have not been of very great interest. The National Assembly, as you will have seen, has removed its place of sitting from Bordeaux to Versailles, and the members of the government who were at Bordeaux have all returned to Paris. The

question of the removal of the National Assembly from Bordeaux excited a good deal of feeling and an animated discussion in that body. Versailles, by a large majority, was carried, over the unanimous report of the committee in favor of Fontainebleau, by the powerful and personal influence of Mr. Thiers. The assembly meets at Versailles on Monday next, and though it sits in that place the seat of government will be at Paris. Mr. Thiers will occupy the splendid hotel of the minister of foreign affairs, where he will hold his official receptions. The council of ministers, however, is to hold its meetings at Versailles. The proceedings of the assembly will be vastly important, and will be watched with the greatest interest. Its great mission will be to legislate for the immediate exigencies of the country, but it is not supposed that it will attempt to act as a constituent to form a new government, without, at any rate, obtaining a power for such purpose from the people by a plebiscite. It is quite evident to my mind that the tendency of the country is to continue the republic, as the only form of government which can be sustained in France at the present time. But political events are so uncertain in France, that it is unsafe to venture predictions as to what may happen. Since the raising of the siege, some half a dozen very violent newspapers had been established, which were daily filled with the most revolutionary appeals, and teeming with incitations to bloodshed and civil war. A few days ago General Vinoy, military commandant of Paris, issued an order, not only suppressing the whole batch, but forbidding other papers of a like character to appear until the siege of Paris should be raised by direction of the national assembly. This order of General Vinoy has been unfavorably commented upon very generally by the press, but I think it has given very general satisfaction to a large majority of the people of Paris. But that which has created more talk and comment, and is, in my judgment, of far more serious import, has been the action of some regiments of the national guard, who seized upon large numbers of cannon and mitrailleuses, some two weeks since, and fortified themselves on the Butte Montmartre. These people have set up a sort of independent side-show in opposition to the government. I do not regard any great degree of violence as probable, but it must be confessed that the condition of the lower and working classes of Paris is alarming. Each man fit to bear arms has been enlisted in the national guard, receiving for himself a franc and a half a day, and an additional sum for his wife, if married, and if he have children a certain sum for every child. But now, it having become necessary to disband the national guard and stop this pay, it is a question of the greatest gravity what is to befall these people. Every branch of industry is paralyzed; all building and improvement of the city has been stopped, and it is about impossible for the laborers to get work.

Nothing, as yet, has been disclosed as to the projects of the government for raising the money to pay off its indemnity to the Germans. There is an evident disposition in all circles to make a superhuman effort to satisfy this debt, and get the Germans out of France at the earliest possible moment. The procuring of such a vast amount of money will, I am afraid, interfere very much with the negotiations of our new five per cent. loan. To raise this money it is thought France will be obliged to offer its securities on better terms than our new loan can be had at. The French people have always had great faith in their own securities and in their own national credit, and do not generally go abroad after investments unless they can purchase foreign securities on terms that will bring them higher rates than their own will yield.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 176.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Telegram.—Translation.]

BERLIN, March 17, 1871. (Received March 17.)

AMERICAN MINISTER, Paris:

You are authorized to furnish to Germans desiring to leave Paris the means necessary to reach frontier. Please reimburse yourself from the fund of the legation.

BISMARCK.

No. 177.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Telegram.—Translation.]

BERLIN, March 17, 1871—4 p. m. (Received March 17.)

Mr. WASHBURNE,*American Minister, Paris:*

The excesses committed against the Germans at Paris are repeated in the provinces. Our officers and soldiers continue to be the victims of insults and attacks on the part of the inhabitants of the occupied departments. The facts impose on me the duty of recurring to your intervention for the purpose of obtaining from the French Government energetic measures to put an end to a state of things which may threaten with serious perils the wounded and sick whom our armies are forced to leave in the territories evacuated by them.

I beg your excellency to kindly call the attention of the French Government to these dangers, inviting it to provide, according to the treaties and the law of nations, for the protection of the Germans who shall need it.

BISMARCK.

No. 178.

Count Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

[Telegram.—Translation.]

BERLIN, March 18, 1871—3 p. m. (Received March 18.)

AMERICAN MINISTER, Paris:

It appears that at Paris the persons and property of expelled Germans are subjected to taxes, intended to cover the costs of war. Please inquire and inform me of the result.

BISMARCK.

No. 179.

Mr. Favre to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

PARIS, March 18, 1871.

MY DEAR MINISTER: I am in receipt of the dispatch kindly communicated to me by you, addressed to you by the chancellor of the empire, of date yesterday, March 17, and by which the chancellor informs you of excesses which have been committed on the persons of German officers and soldiers in the districts occupied by the German troops. Unfortunately I have no method of either verifying or repressing them.

When in conformity with the convention signed by General Count de Fabrice and the minister of finances the French administration shall be re-established, we will be able to intervene, and perhaps we will also have occasion on our side to call attention to acts of abuse by German soldiers whose proceedings are denounced to us every day by our fellow-citizens. What I can promise on my part is, that the government will do all that in it lies to protect German subjects who are found within its territory, asking of the Prussian authorities to give orders to their troops to respect discipline.

As to the war taxes exacted from Germans, the statement is utterly inexact and I beg you to deny it when you reply to Mr. de Bismarck.

I seize this occasion, &c.,

JULES FAVRE.

Mr. E. B. WASHBURN,
&c., &c., &c.

THE COMMUNE.

No. 180.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 394.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 19, 1871. (Received April 3.)

SIR: In my No. 390, of day before yesterday, I alluded to the insurrectionary movements in Paris, and expressing the opinion that they would not amount to much, and that no great degree of violence was probable. It was not then possible for me to conceive that in a little more than twenty-four hours from that time Mr. Thiers and all the members of his government would be obliged to flee from Paris, and that an insurrectionary committee of the national guard would, at the moment I am writing, be complete masters of the city. Yet such is the fact. The attempt of the government to dislodge the insurgents at Montmartre, and to get possession of the cannon there, installed before daybreak yesterday morning, proved a complete failure, the troops of the line fraternizing with the national guard and refusing to fire upon them. All was lost from that moment, though the government did not appear to realize it, and various feeble demonstrations were made during the day to vindicate the public authority. All day long, whenever the troops of the line and the national guard came within reach of each other, they reversed their muskets in token of peace. Without knowing the full gravity of the situation, I started about noon yesterday to

make a trip into the country. 'On my return at six o'clock in the evening, by the way of the Bastile, I found the circulation for carriages interdicted on the principal streets. Being turned into the by-streets, I soon found my way impeded by barricades which had been improvised, and everywhere the insurrectionary national guard. After making various turns, however, I was enabled to get through the obstructed quarter. While I saw so many evidences of great public commotion, I had no idea how serious matters were until this morning, when, in coming down to my legation, I found the city full of the most fearful rumors. I at once went to the Foreign Office, and found that Mr. Jules Favre and the whole government had left for Versailles at half past nine o'clock last night. Leaving the Foreign Office and going to the boulevards, the intelligence of the shooting of Generals Clement Thomas, and Lecompt, by the insurgent troops yesterday, was confirmed, and, as I am now dictating this dispatch, Count Sartiges has come into the legation to say that General Vinoy was also shot this morning.' I am not sure but the same fate awaits Chanzy, for three men have just been here to claim my protection for a young American, who is his aid, and who was arrested with him yesterday, and both of whom are now held in close custody by the insurgent troops. The ministry of the interior and the ministry of justice, as well as the prefecture of police and the Hotel de Ville, are occupied by the insurgents. The central committee of the insurrectionary national guard has issued a proclamation, which is placarded on the walls this afternoon, stating that they have taken the power of the government, driven out the members thereof who betrayed it; that their mission so far is ended, and they call upon the people of Paris to elect a government to-morrow. The regular government of France, constituted by the will of the people, as expressed through the National Assembly at Bordeaux, having been driven from Paris by the insurrectionary movement, and established itself at Versailles, I deem it my duty to follow that government, and shall, therefore, on to-morrow or the next day, remove thither with the legation, leaving one of the secretaries in charge here. Every member of the diplomatic corps will also leave. If the seat of government shall remain at Versailles, which is now very doubtful, my removal will be more nominal than real, for while I shall have my official residence at Versailles, I shall come into Paris every day.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 181.

[By cable.]

MARCH 20, 1871.

FISH,

Secretary of State, Washington:

The following just received by messenger from Washburne for you :

PARIS, March 19.

National guard committee master of Paris ; departments of interior and justice, prefecture of police, Hotel de Ville occupied by insurgents ; Generals Vinoy, Thomas, and Lecompt murdered by troops ; election for commune to-morrow. All members Thiers's government gone to Versailles ; I follow with whole diplomatic corps.

WASHBURNE.

MORAN,
London.

Received at 2.20 p. m., March 21, 1871.

No. 182.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

No. 249.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 21, 1871.

SIR: Your government has sympathized deeply with you in the trials and privations and annoyances to which you were subjected during the long-continued siege of the capital to which you were officially accredited, and where a high sense of duty, which is appreciated and commended, induced you to remain in the efficient and heroic discharge of the most difficult and delicate responsibilities that fall within the province of diplomatic service.

The President recognizes that your continuance within the besieged capital after the discretionary permission given you in my dispatch No. 226, of the 24th January last, has been from the promptings of your own conviction that the interests committed to you required the very great sacrifice of comfort; of the separation from your family; isolation from the intercourse of friends, personal discomforts, and risk of health and life. This sacrifice and these trials you have endured, and I desire officially to record the high appreciation and warm approval of your government. You have done your duty faithfully and ably, and the President tenders you his thanks for the manner in which you have discharged the delicate duties devolving upon you, and have, on all occasions, maintained the dignity of your position and the rights of your government.

An acknowledgment is also due to Mr. Hoffman, the secretary of your legation, for his faithful and able service during this long period of trial. You will please express to him the sense of the Department of his conduct.

Herewith you will receive a printed copy of an act of Congress approved March 3, 1871, by the 5th and 6th clauses of which appropriations are made to meet increased expenses incurred by the legation at Paris (among others) caused by a state of war, and for extra compensation to the secretaries and messengers of the legation, in conformity with the recommendations made in your dispatches on the subject.

I will thank you to prepare and forward to the Department a statement of expenses that may be fairly charged against these appropriations, to be presented in the form of a special account.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 183.

*Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 22, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your three several telegraphic dispatches. Two of them are answered by the letter of Mr. Jules Favre, a copy of which you will find inclosed herewith.*

In regard to the third, in relation to furnishing the necessary means to Germans desirous of quitting Paris, I have to state that I now fur-

* See No. 179.

nish a sufficient sum to all who wish to leave, and many have a ready gone. The present extraordinary state of things here creates very great embarrassment in regard to your people now in Paris. For fear of violence, the proprietors are beginning to drive them out of their houses under orders of the national guard. Having no longer homes in Paris, and in the midst of a hostile population, I am sending them out of the city to Patin as fast as possible, and from there I hope they will reach your lines. I have no doubt your military authorities will have received full orders to give every protection and assistance to such of your countrymen as may reach them from here.

While I propose to take up my official residence at Versailles, it will be necessary for me to come to Paris every day to look after the interest of my own countrymen, as well as to protect as far as possible the subjects of the North German Confederation. I beg to assure your excellency nothing will be left undone by me to afford every possible protection, aid, and assistance to your countrymen. So far there has been less actual violence than I had feared, but in these exceptional circumstances no one can tell what will happen from hour to hour, yet I hope for a peaceful solution, but am not certain as to anything.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency Count DE BISMARCK,
Chancellor, &c.

No. 184.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 395.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 23, 1871. (Received April 6.)

SIR : I addressed you a somewhat hurried dispatch, No. 394, on Sunday afternoon last, which was forwarded to Mr. Moran, at London, to be transmitted to you by open mail. The intelligence which I sent to you by telegraph of the shooting of General Vinoy was incorrect, though I had the most positive assurance that it was true. The next day (20th) Paris was very quiet, and no very great number of national guards were to be seen in the most frequented part of the city, many people hoping that the worst was over, and that there would be a solution of the difficulties in some unforeseen manner. I went out to Versailles on that day to see what was the situation there. The National Assembly had met on that day, and nearly all the deputies were present. Very little was accomplished. I was unable to see Mr. Jules Favre, and I returned to Paris in the evening. There were large numbers of the troops of the line (estimated at forty thousand) in and about Versailles, but great doubts were expressed whether they would prove true to the government in the event of a collision with the insurrectionary national guard. On Monday evening some fifty Americans gave a public dinner in honor of Lieutenant-General Sheridan at the Hotel Splendide, and everything in that central portion of the city was profoundly tranquil that night. On Tuesday there was a sort of dead, fearful calm in the city, and a feeling of great uneasiness. In the afternoon there was a considerable demonstration made by persons calling themselves friends of order, men of property and character, who went entirely unarmed. The effect of

this demonstration was to inspire some confidence among the friends of order and to exasperate the insurgents. It was determined to repeat the demonstration, and yesterday a shocking occurrence took place, which has created the intensest excitement in the city. An interesting account of the affair is given by Mr. Moore, the assistant secretary of legation, who was eye-witness, and which I send herewith. In his letter to me Mr. Moore does not allude to the killing of an American citizen. On the dead body of this man there was found a passport issued by Mr. Seward to George S. Hanna, but he had cards upon his person bearing the name of George H. Teniel, and I learn he is a young man from Saint Louis, who had been in the service of the franc-tireurs during the war here. I ascertained that he had been at our legation in company with young Mr. Chouteau, of Saint Louis, and I went to the banking-house of Bowles Bros. & Co. this afternoon to look at the corpse, but I could not recognize it as any person I had ever seen before. General Read took charge of the body, and placed it in the hands of the friends of the deceased in Paris. I again went to Versailles yesterday to make final arrangements for changing my official residence to that place. I procured an apartment for my legation, and shall take up my residence (nominally, at least) to-morrow. The business of the legation here is now very large, keeping us all constantly engaged, and my own presence in the city at this critical period seems almost indispensable. I shall, therefore, come into Paris from Versailles about every day, in the interest of my countrymen and of the Germans, with whose protection I am still charged, and whose situation is becoming more and more precarious. This removal to Versailles will involve quite a large additional expense, in regard to which I would be glad to be advised.

I was down in the city at one o'clock this afternoon, and everything was very quiet. The friends of law and order have been greatly strengthened and the number of the national guards who are loyal to the interests of order is increasing very rapidly. Ten thousand of them are now guarding the Bank of France, and they hold to-day the mayoralty of the second arrondissement.

In my 394, I spoke of an American who was an aid of General Chanzy, and who had been arrested on his arrival in Paris. I took immediate measures to ascertain where he was, in order to have him released. I sent Mr. McKean, my acting private secretary, in search of him on Sunday afternoon last, but he was unable to find out anything about him.

The man, however, turned up at my legation this afternoon while I was engaged in writing this dispatch. His name is J. Schenowsky, and he was late brevet captain in the Fifth United States Cavalry. He resigned his position in the Army to come to fight for France, and here he became the chief of squadron attached to the cavalry division of the 21st army corps, and was placed upon the staff of General Chanzy. Chanzy himself arrived in the train, from Orleans on Saturday night, and was arrested by the national guard and taken to prison. Captain Schenowsky arrived by the next train, at three o'clock on Sunday morning, and on his arrival he and several others, Frenchmen, were arrested and taken off by the same guard. He was kept a close prisoner until one o'clock on Sunday afternoon, when, showing his commission, which bore upon its face that he had formerly been an officer in the United States Army, he was released. Feeling very anxious about his old commander, Chanzy, whom he esteems highly as a brave soldier and whose misfortune he considers attributable solely to the character of his troops, on Monday last he attempted to visit him, and even after receiving an authority for that purpose he was arrested again by the national guard

and taken to the prefecture, where he was kept in "durance vile" for some six or seven hours and then again released. Another man, a Frenchman, who was long in our service during the rebellion, Mr. Ulric de Fionville, who, I believe, was in the engineer service of General Warren's corps in the Army of the Potomac, and who has been serving France since the war, was also arrested by the national guard, but I learn that he has escaped and that he has been condemned to death for "contumacy."

Mr. McKean has given me a very interesting account of his searches for Captain Schenowsky, which brings vividly to mind the scenes of the first revolution. He says that in company with two French gentlemen he went first to the prison where Chanzy had been incarcerated, in the avenue d'Italie. It was in one of the most wretched quarters of Montrouge. The streets of the neighborhood were all barricaded, furnished with canon, and full of drunken and ferocious-looking men. Having entered the prison and stated the object of their visit, two captains of the troops stationed there got into a most violent dispute as to which of them were in authority. The one who had actual possession of the key was beastly drunk, but he finally surrendered it to the other, and they were admitted into the prison. They found there only one man, a Mr. Edmond Turquet, a member of the National Assembly from the department of the Aisne, a young and gallant-looking man, who had fought with brilliant courage under Chanzy, and received three several wounds. He was on his way to the meeting of the assembly at Versailles, and was arrested at the same time as General Chanzy. Captain Schenowsky had not been there, but Chanzy had, and had been removed to the prison de la Santé. Here they learned that on his way to this last prison Chanzy had been fallen upon by the mob, kicked, cuffed, and beaten with canes and sticks, and threatened with instant death. In making further searches for Captain Schenowsky, they went to the prefecture of police, between eight and nine o'clock at night. All the usual entrances were barred, and access to the building was obtained by a small side door, which led into the basement. There they were ushered into a little, dark, dismal room, for the purpose of obtaining permission to see the prefect. Here a most extraordinary spectacle was presented. The room was densely packed with soldiers of the most sinister look. A court-martial was being held. Three desperate and savage-looking men, in the uniform of officers of the national guard, were sitting at a small table in one corner of the room, which was lighted by a diminutive oil lamp that stood upon the table. Before this terrible tribunal was arraigned a respectable-looking young man in citizen dress. As they entered, the tribunal was upon the point of pronouncing judgment, but in the confusion it was impossible to hear what it was. From the vehement protestations of the young man and the intense agony in which he appeared to be, they had but little doubt that his sentence was death. He was immediately taken in charge by four soldiers and hustled out of the room, probably to be shot. Finding themselves in such a crowd, they did not dare to make any inquiries in reference to what the sentence really was. Mr. McKean went to the prefecture the next day in further search of Captain Schenowsky, and while there three respectable men were brought in charged with wearing a badge of blue ribbon. They were immediately sent down to this self-constituted revolutionary tribunal in the cellar, to undergo a mock trial, and very likely to be condemned and shot. It is only by visits like these that the world will ever get an inkling of the terrible atrocities which have been committed during this new reign of terror.

You will have seen by the telegraphic dispatches, and by the newspapers I send you, the proceedings of the National Assembly at Versailles. Never did a heavier weight rest upon the shoulders of any deliberative assembly than weighs upon the body at Versailles at this time, and it remains to be seen whether it can save France. The whole aspect now is such as to inspire every man in France with terror. The state of things in Paris to-day is without a parallel in its history. Since Saturday evening last there has been not even the shadow of a government in this city of two millions of people. There is nothing but a direction, whose behests are enforced by the power of the insurgent national guard. How far this thing will go, and how it is to end, it is useless for me to predict, for you will know by telegraph of results as they occur, long before this reaches you, and I fear that which I am writing will be old news and of little interest.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Moore to Mr. Washburne.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 22, 1871.

SIR: Following your instructions, I have the honor to submit a report of what I personally saw at the collision which took place this afternoon in the rue de la Paix, between a body of insurgent national guards and a large crowd of persons belonging to the law-and-order party of this city.

At half past one o'clock, as I turned the corner of the rue Neuve des Capucines entering the rue de la Paix, I saw a large body of men, composed about equally of persons in the uniform of the national guard and civilians, coming into the last-named street, at its junction with the Place de l'Opéra. The crowd appeared to be led by a few under-officers of the national guard and about twenty or thirty armed soldiers. Whether the latter belonged to the insurgents, and were being driven before the crowd, I was unable at the moment to determine, but it is now understood that they formed a part of the law-and-order party. The civilians and unarmed soldiers carried ordinary walking-sticks in most instances. Fearing the consequences of remaining in the crowd, I entered a jeweler's shop, No. 10 rue de la Paix, from which I could see all that transpired in that thoroughfare between the rue Neuve des Capucines and rue Neuve des Petites Champs, but was unable to look into the Place Vendôme, where a considerable body of the insurgent national guard was posted. Across the rue de la Paix a line of the insurgents was drawn at the junction of the rue Neuve des Capucines, and two cannon were stationed immediately in their rear. As I entered the jeweler's store the crowd pressed by, making loud cries of "Arm, arm yourselves!" and "Vive la république!" the soldiers loading their guns and the others brandishing their canes high in the air, as they surged on toward the Place Vendôme. In a moment more the crowd seemed to come to a stand, when I went through a rear door of the store and entered the court-yard of the premises. Finding the door of the main entrance to the rue de la Paix partly open, I went to it, and discovered on the sidewalk General Chetlain, the American consul at Brussels, among the crowd. I beckoned him in, as another forward movement of the law-and-order party had then commenced, and returned to the jeweler's store. The crowd pressed on more furiously than before, filling the air with cries of "Vive la république!" "Vive l'ordre!" and "Arm, arm yourselves!" In about two minutes a single gun was fired, and in a moment more a general firing of small-arms commenced, which continued about ten minutes. The firing was very irregular, and did not appear to be by platoon. The cannon were not fired. Looking from the store in which I was, I saw seven men fall to the pavement, two of whom were killed instantly. A person in citizen's dress who attempted to succor a wounded man was shot down and killed. About two minutes after the general fusilade had ceased a single shot was fired immediately in front of my position. General Chetlain tells me that this shot was fired at a man already wounded, and who was crawling up on the sidewalk. As soon as quiet had somewhat returned I again went into the court-yard and ascended to the first story of the apartment, from which I could look up and down the rue de la Paix its entire length. In the window of the parlor of Lieutenant-General Sheridan, at the Westminster Hotel, immediately opposite, I discovered General Mer-

ritt and Mr. Paul S. Forbes, who must, from their position, have been able to see all that was going on. Immediately after I saw General Chetlain safe and inside the court-yard into which I had called him at the moment of the second advance of the crowd, and he joined myself and a friend. We remained in the first story of the apartment about fifteen minutes, during which time we saw the dead bodies of two men lying on the opposite sidewalk. Both of these bodies were carried inside the insurgent lines at the Place Vendôme. General Chetlain informed me that a young man who was standing in the rue de la Paix, a few feet from him, was shot through the arm and had his wound dressed in the rear court-yard of the building in which we had taken refuge. Comparative order having been restored, General Chetlain, my friend, and myself left the house and soon gained the boulevards, from which place we experienced no difficulty in returning home. As we passed No. 12 rue de la Paix, we saw the body of a dead old man, whose head had been terribly mutilated by a shot, and who had evidently been shot down on the edge of the sidewalk, for the marks of his crawling to the place where he died gave sufficient proof of that fact.

I have, &c.,

FRANK MOORE,
Assistant Secretary of Legation.

No. 185.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 396.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, March 24, 1871. (Received April 6.)

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have this day taken up my official residence near the Government of France at this place, and that I have established the legation of the United States at No. 7 rue de Mademoiselle. I left Paris by railroad from the Havre depot at half after twelve. That depot was held by the troops of order, but when we got out a little way, at Battignolles, we were arrested by the insurrectionary national guard, who detained the train an hour and a half to look for soldiers, suspected persons, and to examine all baggage. On arriving at the depot here all the passengers were required to show their passes and to give up any revolutionary papers, particularly the bogus official journal, which they might have. The election for the commune, first fixed for Wednesday last, then postponed till yesterday, when no attempt was made to hold it, is now fixed for next Sunday, the 26th instant. I could not see much improvement in Paris before I left to-day. General Cluseret is said to occupy the position of secretary of war. The order is published that the "reactionary" editors, as they are called, that is, the editors of all the respectable journals in Paris, are to be sent for trial to the "committee central"; in other words, to a military tribunal. The names of many of these editors were already in the lists of proscriptions, and they write with their throats literally under the knife of assassins.

I send a messenger back to Paris to-night to have this dispatch go out by the bag which leaves for London this evening.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 186.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 397.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, March 25, 1871. (Received April 12.)

SIR: In the terrible situation of Paris and indeed of France, I supposed I should find the attention of the government and of the National Assembly here completely engrossed with the consideration of measures

tending to vindicate the national authority in Paris, and rescue the city from the hands of the insurrectionists, but I am disappointed. Everything seems paralyzed. On going into the National Assembly last night, I found a discussion of certain commercial questions going on. At the opening of the sitting at half past two o'clock to-day, when it was supposed that important measures connected with the state of things in Paris would be brought up, there was a long and tedious discussion opened in regard to the removal of certain magistrates by *Crémieux*, when he was acting in behalf of the government of the national defence. No effective steps have been taken here to put down the insurrectionary movement, which is gaining strength every day by the delay. All the members of the diplomatic corps, and all other persons with whom I have conversed here, take the most gloomy view of the situation, and no one presumes to speculate as to results. The Republican members complain that the assembly is ultra-reactionary and that it will yield nothing to liberal ideas so that a common ground can be found in opposition to the insurrectionary movement and upon which all can stand. They say that they have no sympathy with Paris, and are not only indisposed to yield anything, or, on the other hand to take any vigorous steps to enforce the authority of the state and to restore order in Paris.

* * * * To my mind the appearance of things to-day is more discouraging than ever. The insurrectionists in Paris are gaining power and strength every hour, and the party of order, in finding itself unsupported from Versailles, must be giving way. Indeed, as I write it is currently reported that nearly all the mayors have given in and will join with the *comité central* of the national guard to hold an election for a commune to-morrow. Should this happen and an election be held, the present complications will be added to, and the city government of Paris will become an organized power in opposition to the Government of France.

It would be difficult to convey to you an adequate idea of the condition of things existing in Paris. In some portions of the city all is quiet and orderly; but in other parts we see nothing but "grim-visaged war," barricades, regiments marching and countermarching, the beating of the rappel, the mounting guard, the display of cannon and mitrailleuses, and the interdiction of circulation in the streets. Then there are the numerous arrests, the mock-trials, and the executions. As illustrative of the extraordinary state of affairs here, you would only have to see with what sanguinary *naïveté* a military report is made on the 21st instant by the general commanding the national guard of Montmartre, a man by the name of Garnier, who was formerly a dealer in cooking utensils. He says, in the first place, that there is "nothing new; night calm and without incident." He then goes on to say that at five minutes after ten o'clock two *sergents de ville* were brought in by the *franc-tireurs* and immediately shot. He continues, "At twenty minutes after midnight, a guardian of the peace, accused of having fired a revolver, is shot." He closes his report of that calm night "without incident" by saying that a gendarme, brought in by the guards of the twenty-eighth battalion, at seven o'clock, is shot. Thus it will be seen that in one night, in only one of the arrondissements, which is described as being "calm and without incident," four officers of the law are deliberately murdered.

I alluded in my No. 396 to the action of the *comité central* in regard to the press of Paris. I did not refer to the fact that early in the week the establishments of two journals of large circulation—the *Gaulois* and the *Figaro*—were seized and held by the insurgent guard. The

Journal Officiel of the insurrection on Thursday last contained the following ominous notice :

The reactionary press has recourse to falsehood and calumny to discourage the patriots who have achieved a triumph for the rights of the people.

We do not wish to interfere with the liberty of the press, only, the government of Versailles, having suspended the ordinary course of the tribunals, we warn the writers of bad faith, to whom the common law against outrage and calumny would in ordinary times be applied, that they will immediately be deferred to the central committee of the national guard.

Of course every one understands what that publication means. It is a menace against all the editors in Paris who call in question the acts and usurpations of the insurgents, and it signifies that they may be sent to a military tribunal.

As a pretext to seize, imprison, and execute any and all persons who may be denounced, the Journal Officiel of the insurgents of yesterday morning published the following :

Numerous Bonapartist agents and Orleanists have been surprised making distributions of silver for the purpose of turning the inhabitants from their civic duties. Every individual convicted of corruption or attempt at corruption will be immediately deferred to the central committee of the national guard.

Here is another notice in the same paper of yesterday :

DEATH TO ROBBERS.—Every person caught in the act of robbery will be immediately shot.

Requisitions have commenced in Paris. Many shopkeepers now hesitate to lay in supplies, and all manifest the intention of defending their property. Subjoined is a specimen of one of the orders issued by the committee of the Hotel de Ville :

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.—IN THE NAME OF THE REPUBLIC—REQUISITIONS, MONEY, PROVISIONS.

In case of refusal citizen X, charged with the commission, may get himself assisted by the national guards of the quarter.

(Signed)

Member of the Federation.

There are two stamps on this paper, one with the words "*République française*," and the other "*Fédération républicaine*."

Everybody inquires what next? The disorganization of Paris is complete. There is no power to be appealed to for protection of life, liberty, or property. Anarchy, assassination, and massacre hold high carnival. There are already heard the fearful whispers of a "law of the suspect," of the dressing of lists of proscriptions, and domiciliary visits. I would fain hope that things may not reach that extremity which most intelligent persons predict, and that before this despatch reaches you you may have telegraphic intelligence of a comparative restoration of peace and order.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 187.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 398]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, March 27, 1871. (Received April 12.)

SIR: The election for the commune which took place in Paris yesterday was a perfect farce. It was ordered by the *comité central* without the shadow of authority, and the acquiescence in it at the eleventh hour by nearly all the mayors, and some ten members of the National

Assembly representing Paris, gave it no legality. Yet if the people had generally voted there would have been a certain moral force in the result. But that was not the case. There are some five hundred and fifty thousand voters in the city. On yesterday there were not more than one hundred and eighty thousand votes cast. It is estimated that sixty thousand of these votes were given by men not in sympathy with the commune movement, leaving, therefore, the central committee at the Hotel de Ville only backed by a little more than one-fifth of the whole number of votes. Notwithstanding all this, the insurgents will claim an advantage from the election, and assume that they have been indorsed by the people of Paris. The election will bring no change for the better, but, on the other hand, the situation will become more threatening. It is now the insurgents of Paris who are endeavoring to associate with themselves the insurgents in the other cities against the government of France. A dissolution of the present assembly is to be pronounced and a decree of accusation against its members, when the "order of revenge is to strike without pity."

There seems to be little doing here. The assembly had to-day a very short session. Mr. Thiers made a speech, appealing to the members to be patient and to be silent. He denied in the most emphatic terms that the government intended to overthrow the republic. He said, "We have formed the republic and we will here serve the republic." Further, he said: "Our mission is to reorganize the country, to bring back peace, activity, labor, and prosperity, if it be possible, and then to leave to France entire liberty as to the choice of its destinies."

The government here evidently does not feel strong enough to cope with the Paris insurgents, and is waiting to get up other and more reliable troops.

Mr. Thiers told a gentlemen to-day it would probably be *two weeks* before they would be ready. In the mean time you may well ask what is to become of Paris? Domiciliary visits have already commenced. The Père Duchêne, one of the worst of the Jacobin journals, and the favored organ of the government of the Hotel de Ville, demands the inauguration of the "policy of suspicion" and a "committee of public safety." The *red flag* has replaced the tri-color at the Hotel de Ville, the palace of justice, and the tribunal of commerce. Chanzy has been released, and is now here. He made his way on foot out from Paris. Henri de l'Espée, appointed prefect of the Loire on the 20th instant, has just been assassinated at the Hotel de Ville of St. Etienne. The spirit of insurrection and revolution is spreading over all France, and who knows that while the Versailles government is wasting its days in a "masterly inactivity," the insurrectionists, by their activity and audacity, will not gather power enough to completely defy it, if not overthrow it. I shall return to Paris to-morrow, and come out here again Thursday?

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 188.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 29, 1871.

SIR: I have been able in the last few days to get away one hundred and ninety-eight families out of the one thousand and upward heads of

German families finding themselves here at the raising of the siege, and I am now sending off from fifty to seventy every day. Yet there will be many who will be unable to get away, as they are in debt, and not only their persons, but their movables, are detained. The people who are compelled to remain here are without work and are entirely dependent upon me. Those who go can take nothing but their hand baggage, and most of them are glad to get away even with lives. I send them from Paris to Frouard, a station this side of Nancy, which is in possession of your troops. The fare I pay for each person is twenty-one francs and twenty-five centimes (francs 21.25), and I give about five francs additional for their expenses on the way.

The Germans now remaining here are subject to more or less violence from the national guard and from the people. Many are arrested and thrust into prison. God only knows what becomes of them; whenever I can hear of the detention of such I take measures to have them liberated. But it is impossible to say how much longer I shall be able to accomplish anything. As we are now paying out so much money, the fund which has been placed to my credit is very nearly exhausted, and if I am to continue to furnish means as usual, it will be necessary for me to have an additional credit.

I take the present occasion, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His excellency Count DE BISMARCK.

No. 189.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. von Thile.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, March 30, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, in reference to one Jean Grüberaud, botanist, who desired to receive assistance to leave Paris. I am informed that this person disposed of his property and left Paris about six weeks ago.

I have also the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 27th instant, in reference to the arrest and imprisonment of a North German sailor at Marseilles.

I have communicated a copy of your excellency's letter to Mr. Jules Favre.

I have further to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letters of the 20th, 23d, and 24th March, inclosing judiciary acts to be served upon certain parties in France. These have been transmitted to Mr. Jules Favre, with copies of your excellency's letters.

I take this opportunity, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His excellency Mr. VON THILE, &c., &c., &c.

No. 190.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 399.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, March 30, 1871. (Received April 14.)

SIR: I have the honor to inform the department that, on the 17th instant, I notified Mr. Jules Favre that the citizens of Boston had sent

a large quantity of provisions to France for the benefit of those who had suffered by the war, and that the Government of the United States had placed a national vessel at the disposition of the donors to carry those provisions to Havre. To-day I am in receipt of a letter from Mr. Favre, a translation of which I have the honor to forward herewith, conveying the thanks of the French Government to that of the United States and to the city of Boston. I beg that you will transmit a copy of Mr. Favre's letter to the committee of the donors in that city.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

Mr. Farre to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, March 29, 1871.

SIR: You did me the honor to inform me, by your letter of the 17th of this month, that a subscription had been opened in Boston with the object of sending provisions to those French families which have suffered most during the war, and you add that the Government of the United States has placed at the disposition of the donors the United States frigate Worcester, which should already have sailed for Havre with the cargo.

I hasten, sir, to address to you the thanks of the French Government for the kindness of the Cabinet of Washington, and I beg you to transmit to the city of Boston the expression of our gratitude for the generosity it has shown toward our people who have suffered from the war.

In conformity with the wish which you have expressed to me, the proper authorities at Havre have been requested to grant to the Worcester all desirable facilities for discharging her cargo, as well as immunity from all port and custom-house charges.

JULES FAVRE.

No. 191.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 403.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 30, 1871. (Received April 14.)

SIR: Events are marching apace. The election of members of the commune was proclaimed with great ceremony at the Hotel de Ville on Tuesday afternoon last. It was a great popular demonstration. All the national guards were invited to be present. At about four o'clock they commenced to arrive from every direction, drums beating and flags flying. Upon a platform in front of the hotel there was placed a large square table, which was surrounded by some members of the *comité central* in citizens' dress, and many officers of the national guard, all distinguished by a red scarf. The proceedings are opened by a display of flags, by repeated salvos of artillery, followed by great applause and cries of "Vive la commune!" "Vive la république!" &c. The Place de l'Hotel de Ville is densely packed with the national guard. At a given moment the soldiers place their caps upon the point of the bayonet and raise their muskets in the air. M. Ravier, the president of the central committee, read to the multitude the list of members elected to the commune. Two other members of the committee then stepped forward and made brief speeches, which were received with loud cries of "Vive la commune!" The military bands placed at the foot of the balcony then struck up the *Marseillaise*, the *Chant du Départ*, and the *Gérontins*, the entire assemblage joining in the chorus. The ceremony of the

proclamation of the Commune having been finished, all the battalions which had been massed upon the place of the hotel defiled before the balcony to the cry of "Vive la commune!" The scene was extraordinary. More than one hundred thousand persons were present at the ceremony. All the windows of the neighboring houses were well filled with spectators, the barricades were covered with people, and the *gamins* perched themselves in all the trees of the avenue Victoria.

The Commune having thus been proclaimed, it met for the first time on Tuesday evening in the hall of the municipality of the Hotel de Ville. In contempt of all that has been insisted on by all liberal people, and by all journals of every shade of opinion, opposed to the régime of the Empire, that the sittings of all representative bodies should be public, or, at least, there should be a full publication of the journal of their proceedings, the meeting of the Commune was in secret, and although there are rumors of great dissensions in the body, no one outside knows what actually took place. The Nouvelle République, which perhaps may be considered a semi-official organ of the commune, intimates: *First.* That the sittings of that body will not be public. *Second.* That there will not be a tribune. *Third.* That there will be no published report of its sittings, but only a daily publication of its decrees. To-day the government of the Commune seems to be fairly installed. There is no longer any "Journal Officiel de la France," but it appears to-day as the "Journal Officiel de la Commune de Paris." This journal makes the official announcement that the central committee has remitted its powers to the Commune of Paris, and that organization issues an address to the inhabitants of the city. It claims, in the first instance, as I had supposed it would, that the vote of the 26th instant sanctioned the revolution of the 18th of March. It denounces the government at Versailles as criminal, and proclaims the work it is about to undertake. Already it has commenced issuing its decrees, the first of which abolishes the conscription, and declares that no military force other than the national guard shall be created or introduced into Paris; and further, that all able-bodied citizens shall be enrolled for service in that body. The second decree exempts tenants from the payment of rent for the last nine months, and, if perchance any rent has been paid during that period, it is to be applied as a credit on future payments. All leases are canceled at the will of the tenants for the period of six months from the date of the decree. Notices to quit are to be extended on demand of the tenant for a period of three months.

The Journal of the Commune this morning contains an announcement of the organization of the commissions of the commune, ten in number, and among them is one of foreign relations, of which the somewhat notorious Delescluze is the chairman. There is also the ominous commission of public safety, and then there are the commissions of justice, of military affairs, of finance, of subsistence, and what is termed the "*Commission Executive.*" Independent of these commissions the Paris journal states that a central subcommittee, composed of twelve persons, has been formed at the Hotel de Ville. It also says that General Cluseret is a member of that committee, and that it will have jurisdiction of all accusations of treason against the republic. The article published in the Journal Officiel, the organ of the central committee, on Tuesday last, recommending all persons to murder the Duke d'Aumale and other princes, merely because they belong to families connected with royalty, did not seem to excite any great degree of horror, as people are beginning to look upon all these incitations to violence and to murder as matters incident to the present state of things here.

The Commune may be said to be complete masters in Paris to-day, as there is no force to oppose them. The barricades are beginning slowly to disappear. The insurgents are getting possession of all the public places and public institutions. The general post-office of Paris has at last fallen, and a member of the commune has taken possession of the direction of that bureau. The result will probably be that the government at Versailles will not permit mails to come into Paris. I shall not intrust anything more of importance to the post-office here. I am sorry to say I cannot see any improvement in the situation. Matters must grow worse from day to day. A placard has already been put up in the quarter of Montmartre informing the public that certain commissioners have been named to receive the denunciations of citizens suspected to be in complicity with the government at Versailles. This is probably the commencement of that system of denunciation which will soon fill the prisons of Paris. Mr. McKean was at the prefecture yesterday, and found an enormous crowd of well-dressed persons there, all of whom were looking for friends who had been arrested and spirited away.

Colonel Hoffman was at Versailles yesterday, and I shall go out there to morrow.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 192.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 404.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, March 31, 1871.

SIR: I intended to have left for Versailles quite early this morning, but on coming down town I learned that all the railroad trains in that direction were stopped, and that all the gates of the city were closed. I then sent to the Hotel de Ville to get a pass that would permit me to go out and to come into the city. I have received such a pass and leave immediately, and will probably return to-morrow night. There is nothing of great importance this morning, except that we have no further post-office facilities in Paris. All the employés of the government left last night for Marseilles and carried away everything. All the bureaus in the various parts of the city are closed to-day. A sort of service may be improvised, but it must be so uncertain and irregular as to be of very little value.

I send the bag to London by a Spanish messenger to-night.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 193.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 407.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, April 1, 1871. (Received April 17.)

SIR: I came out from Paris yesterday, and can see no change in the situation. The National Assembly is not concerning itself with anything which has relation with the state of things in Paris. Large numbers of troops are coming in, but the government seem to have no

confidence in them, and is apparently awaiting the arrival of those who have been prisoners in Germany, upon whom they think they can rely. Some of the military men are anxious to take the offensive with the troops already in hand. I attended a reception of M. Thiers last night at the prefecture, which is now his official residence. It is a new and beautiful palace which was occupied by King William while he was at Versailles. I found quite a number of gentlemen there, and the conversation between them and the president of the executive powers in regard to the crisis was very earnest. I had but few words with M. Thiers, and found that he differed with me very materially as to the condition of matters in Paris, and he was far more hopeful of a favorable solution of affairs than I supposed any man could be with a full knowledge of passing events. Although the trains on the railroad by the right bank of the river, from Paris to Versailles, were stopped yesterday, and many of the gates of the city were closed, I found the one at the Point du Jour open as I came out in my carriage. I had no occasion to use the pass given me by the Commune. This place is becoming more and more crowded, and people are flocking out from Paris in great numbers. I sleep on a cot in my legation, and consider myself wonderfully well off; but when it comes to the question of getting something to eat, *hic est opus hic labor est*. The scramble in the restaurants would put a western steamboat in the shade in emigration times. After a brisk skirmish of an hour, I succeeded in obtaining a plate of soup, a slice of cold veal, and a piece of bread for my dinner. The worst of it is, one does not know how long this thing is to last; but I know of no other way than to take it as it comes, and to make the best of it.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 194.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 408.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 2, 1871. (Received April 17.)

SIR: I came in from Versailles last night, entering the city by the gate of Point du Jour without any interruption. After leaving my home to come to the legation, at half past ten o'clock this morning, I had not proceeded far when I heard the discharge of cannon, mitrailleuses, and musketry. Soon the reports became more and more distinct, and it was quite evident that fighting was going on in the vicinity of the bridge of Neuilly, about one mile and a half from the legation. A gentleman who has just come in from that vicinity says that it was undoubtedly an engagement between some insurgent troops, who went out of the city last night in the direction of Versailles, and the government forces. He was a good way to the front, and several shells burst near him. Finding themselves opposed, the insurgents beat a hasty retreat, and came into town pell-mell by the gate of Maillot, and, in order to be entirely safe, they drew up the bridge and closed the gate after them. As I am writing this, Antoine, whom I had sent out in search of information, has returned, and he reports the affair much more serious than I had supposed; but in such times of excitement great allowance should be made, and one hardly knows what to believe. He talked with many soldiers, who had run away from the fight, who told him that several thousand

men had left the city last night to march upon Versailles. All acknowledged that they had been badly handled, some attributing their disaster to one cause and some to another. One said they were sent off without ammunition, and that they were therefore unable to return the fire. Others said that they were assured they would meet no opposition from the government troops, but on the contrary would be received with open arms. Instead thereof they were welcomed "with bloody hands to hospitable graves." One thing, however, is quite certain, the insurgents have met with a repulse which may possibly lead to important results. On going to the Champs Elysées at half past twelve I found a regiment of the insurgent national guard had advanced up the avenue and halted near the Arc of Triumph. On the other side of the Arc there was an immense crowd of people and national guards, all looking in the direction where the firing had been going on up to within half an hour. While standing there some emotion was created by a few artillerymen dashing along with a piece of six, and although they were yelling and brandishing their swords they failed to obtain but a feeble acclamation as they passed from the crowd or from the regiment of soldiers. The most distinct recognition was from an enthusiastic little Frenchman at my side, who cried out, "*Vive l'artillerie terrible!*"

4 p. m.—I have just been into the avenue of the Grand Army and found there a dense crowd of excited people, together with some three or four thousand insurgent soldiers and thirty pieces of artillery. They were undoubtedly expecting another attack from the Versailles troops. Twenty prisoners, troops of the line, were marched through the avenue while I was there. Many of the people cried out, "*Vive la ligne!*" but the soldiers made no response nor evinced any disposition to fraternize.

In my 404 I spoke of the suppression of postal facilities in Paris. It may now be said to be complete except so far as the interior of the city is concerned. M. Rampont, the director of the post, succeeded on the night of the 30th in removing his department and everything belonging to it, as well as all the employés, to Versailles. The government of the commune is very furious on the subject, as the interruption of postal facilities and all communication with the department is a great blow to Paris, and is creating much dissatisfaction. The commune is already at loggerheads and the greatest confusion reigns in its councils. Seventeen members have already resigned. I wrote you on Thursday last that the Journal Officiel of the Republic had taken the name of the "*Journal Officiel de la Commune.*" The next day it resumed its former title, without giving any reason for the change either way. I propose to send this dispatch under cover to Mr. Moran, by the messenger of the British embassy to-morrow morning, that it may be forwarded to you by the open mail which leaves London on Tuesday next.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 195.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

[Extract.]

No. 256.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 3, 1871.

SIR: Your No. 389, relating to the protection of American property in Paris during its occupation by the Germans, is received and has been read with interest.

In it you invite my attention to correspondence that had previously taken place between Mr. von Thile and Mr. Bancroft under instructions from this department, which were issued in consequence of suggestions made by you.

It also appears from your letter that notwithstanding the assurances given by Mr. von Thile in this correspondence, German soldiers were actually billeted on Americans during the short occupation of Paris, and that a correspondence had taken place in consequence between Count Bismarck and yourself.

I gather further from your dispatch that the actual disposition of the soldiers was made under the directions of the mayor of Paris, who appears to have endeavored to relieve his own countrymen at the expense of citizens of the United States who have temporarily expatriated themselves, and transferred their property to French protection to the estimated amount of from seven to ten millions of dollars.

It would thus appear that the act of billeting the soldiers on Americans was committed rather by the French authorities than by the Germans; and that before an answer was received to your representations to Count Bismarck the Germans had left Paris. It would also seem that the damage which they committed was trifling, and that no American has made complaint. The department fully approves of the zeal and discretion with which you have watched over the interests of your countrymen in this matter. It is a subject of congratulation that the facts do not call for any further active steps.

* * * * *

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 196.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 410.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 4, 1871. (Received April 17.)

SIR: It is impossible to arrive at the truth in regard to the fight which took place on Sunday last between the insurgents and the Versailles troops. It was a singular sight to my family on that Sunday morning to watch from the upper window of my residence the progress of a regular battle under the walls of Paris, and to hear the roar of artillery, the rattling of musketry, and the peculiar sound of the mitrailleuses. The result was undoubtedly very unfavorable to the insurgents, but it did not discourage them, for they commenced immediately rallying their forces for another attack. Late in the afternoon they began their movement, which continued till late into the night, going out of the city in different directions. At half past six o'clock yesterday morning I was awakened by the cannon at Mont Valérien, which had opened on the rear guard of a large column of insurgents that was on its way to Versailles. The firing caused the guard to retreat into the city in indescribable confusion. What has become of that part of the column which passed beyond Mont Valérien is not known, although some of the insurgents say that yesterday afternoon it was marching victoriously on to Versailles. Two other columns of troops are also said to have passed out, and there was quite a serious fight in the vicinity of Chatillon, resulting in the retreat of the insurgents pell-mell. The day of yesterday was one of great excitement in the city. The national guards were roaming around everywhere, singly, in squads, in

companies, and in regiments. In the afternoon a body of several hundred women formed at the Place de la Concorde and took up their line of march to Versailles, in poor imitation of those who marched upon the same place in the time of Louis the Sixteenth. They paraded up the Champs Elysées and through the avenue Montaigne. A portion of them passed over the Pont d'Alma, while the others took the route to the Point du Jour. Many of them wore the "*bonnet rouge*," and all were singing the Marseillaise. Whenever they met an omnibus they stopped it, caused the passengers to get out, and took possession themselves. One old woman, sixty years of age, mounted on the top of an omnibus, displayed the red flag, and gave the word of command. How far they went and what became of them I do not know. It is very curious to read the different accounts which are given of yesterday and Sunday in the various red journals. Their violence knows no bounds. The insurgent official journal publishes a decree of the Commune impeaching Thiers, Favre, Picard, Simon, and Pothuan, and also seizing and sequestering their property. Insurrectionary journals are springing up like gourds in the night, and each tries to surpass the other in revolutionary fervor and violence. If this thing continue it is not unlikely that all the papers opposed to the Commune will have to go under. Indeed, the "*L'Action*," the journal of Lissagaray, of this morning, openly demands the suspension, "*sans phrase*," of all the journals in Paris hostile to the Commune. The insurrectionists, who had for one of their watchwords "a free press," have suppressed by force the "*Figaro*" and the "*Gaulois*," destroyed the issues of the "*Constitutionnel*," driven out of the city the "*L'Électeur Libre*," the "*Bien Public*," the "*Ami de France*," and one or two other journals. A very significant note addressed by the Commune to the director of the Paris Journal, a paper of a very large circulation, appears this morning. I will give you the names of some of these new papers that have made their appearance since the insurrection of the 18th of March: *Le Rappel*, *L'Action*, *Le Père Duchêne*, *Le Vengeur*, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, *L'Affranchi*, *Le Cri du Peuple*, *La Révolution*, *La Montagne*, *L'Avant Garde*, *La Commune*, *La Sociale*.

We have reports of great commotion in the councils of the Commune. Assi, who was the head man in the *comité central* of the national guard, and elected a member of the Commune, is now imprisoned at the prefecture of the police. Lullier, another member of the *comité central*, was arrested by his associates in the committee, and also cast into prison. He has since escaped, and publishes a letter in which he says the depot of the prefecture is transformed into a prison of state, where the most rigorous precautions are taken against all the prisoners. The official journal of the insurrectionists of yesterday makes the following announcement: "Citizen Cluseret is appointed delegate to the ministry of war, conjointly with the Citizen Endes. He will enter his duties immediately." As I write this dispatch at 3 o'clock this afternoon, to send to London to-night by General Starring, everything is quiet in the town as far as I can learn, yet a good deal of firing is heard in the direction of Meudon. Colonel Hoffman went to Versailles this morning. I need hardly add that the greatest uneasiness continues in the city among all classes of people. Matters cannot long remain in their present position. It is impossible for Paris to hold out against all France. The communal insurrection seems to have been suppressed in all the cities of France except Paris.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 197.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 411.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 6, 1871. (Received April 20.)

SIR: I have not been to Versailles since Saturday. As I wrote you in my No. 410, Colonel Hoffman went thither on Tuesday last. I intended to have relieved him before this, but I am reluctant to leave Paris in these troublesome and somewhat perilous times. We still have here a large number of Americans, and while I hope that they may not be molested or have their property injured, yet no one knows what may happen from hour to hour. Under such circumstances I deem it my duty to remain in Paris as much as possible, going or sending to Versailles to transact official business with the government there.

In my last dispatch I gave you an account of the military operations up to the date thereof. There has been almost constant fighting ever since outside the walls of the city, and in the direction of Versailles. The results have been uniformly unfavorable to the insurgents, who have lost large numbers in killed and wounded, and a great many prisoners. It seems to be understood that all of their forces are to be brought into the city under the pretext of reorganization. The greatest discouragement exists among the insurrectionary population of the city, and the most desperate things are not only proposed but are being accomplished. The archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Darboy, was arrested the night before last and carried to prison, while his palace was plundered. One of the employés of the legation has just come from there and verifies the fact. The insurrectionary national guard is still holding possession of his palace. The Abbé Deguerry, the curé of the Madeleine, was also arrested and sent to prison on Tuesday night; his effects were seized, and seals were put upon his papers. Four priests were also arrested during the same night and carried to Mazas. As you may well imagine, the greatest terror prevails among all these people who are now being hunted down. Their fate seems hard indeed. All of them remained here during the siege, suffering unheard of privations of cold and hunger, visiting the sick and wounded, and upholding the courage of the people of Paris. I am not certain as to what has become of the property of the members of the government, seized a few days since by order of the Commune, but a gentleman informs me that the house of M. Thiers has certainly been robbed, and that he saw placed upon its walls "*À vendre.*" I presume it is the same with the houses of all the other members of the government.

There is greater uneasiness in Paris this morning than I have ever witnessed. The most sinister rumors prevailed. The Journal Officiel of the insurrection publishes this morning a most savage decree of six articles. The first decrees that every person accused of complicity with the government of Versailles shall be imprisoned. The second article provides for the institution of a jury to try these parties. The third provides that the jury shall act within forty-eight hours. The fourth, that all those convicted will be held as hostages of the people of Paris. The fifth provides that the execution of any prisoner of war or partisan of the regular government of the Commune of Paris will be immediately followed by the execution of three of the hostages found guilty by the jury. The sixth provides that all prisoners of war shall be brought before the jury, which will decide whether to set them at liberty or to retain them as hostages. I send you herewith, as cut from the official

journal of the insurgents, an address from the Commune to the citizens of Paris, also one of its decrees, a report of General Cluseret, a note of Paschal Grousset, *membre de la Commune, délégué aux relations extérieures*, addressed "to the representatives of the foreign powers;" and further, a letter of General Bergeret to the executive commission of the Commune. Rochefort's paper, the Mot d'Ordre, this morning, takes a very discouraging view of affairs. It says that the disasters which have befallen the insurgents are the results of the incredible folly which presides at all the military operations. He also attacks the Commune with great bitterness for the secret deliberations in the silence of the night, and earnestly demands that the doings of that body shall immediately be made public.

In my last dispatch I said, if the state of things existing continued, it was not unlikely that all the papers opposed to the commune would go under. My prophecy has since become history, for every paper that has been pronounced in its opposition to the Commune has been suppressed, and we now have nothing but the insurrectionary sheets which I mentioned the other day. There should have been added to that list two other journals, *La Cloche* and *Le Châtiment*. Many Americans have called at the legation to-day to procure passports, and to seek advice in relation to leaving the city. All the gates of the city are closed, and the railroads leaving the south side of the town are also closed. The Northern, the Orleans, and the Strasbourg roads are, however, open. Their depots are all held by the national guard, and Frenchmen, excepting women and children, are not permitted to depart. Foreigners have no trouble in getting away on showing their passports. I send my dispatch-bag over to London to-night, one day in advance of its usual time.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 198.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 415.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 8, 1871. (Received April 26.)

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 249, under date the 21st ultimo. I am very much gratified to know that my official duties have been discharged in a manner satisfactory to the President and yourself. For the very kind and cordial manner in which you have been pleased to express that satisfaction, I beg to tender to you my sincere acknowledgments. The testimonial of approval of the conduct of Colonel Hoffman is well merited; and he desires that I should express to the President, as well as to yourself, his most grateful and profound thanks. I duly received the printed copy of the act of Congress, making an appropriation to meet the increased expenses incurred by the legation at Paris, on account of a state of war between Germany and France. As these expenses still continue, and as I presume you will not desire two accounts to be made, I shall, unless otherwise instructed, defer sending a statement until after I am relieved of the protection of the subjects of North German Confederation, and can furnish you an account which shall embrace the expenses incurred of every kind and description.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 199.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 416.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 9, 1871. (Received April 26.)

SIR: It is one week ago to-day since actual fighting commenced between the Versailles troops and the insurgents. The latter still hold the forts of Vanves and Issy, but they have no men outside the walls, except those who are in these two forts. There has been but little cessation of the fighting during the week. The successes have been invariably on the side of the government troops, and the Commune forces are now strictly on the defensive. On Friday afternoon last the government troops attacked the insurgents at Neuilly and carried the barricade on this side the Pont de Neuilly. From that point and Mont Valérien they have ever since been shelling a battery of the insurgents at Port Maillot, and a large number of shells have fallen in that part of the city in which the Arc de Triomphe is situated, and in which locality a great many of the apartments are occupied by Americans. One shell fell in the avenue Joséphine, half a square distant from the legation, and several have burst in the rue de Chaillot, between the legation and the Champs Elysées. On going to my house at five o'clock on Friday afternoon last I found that three shells had exploded in the immediate vicinity, one of them striking within fifty feet of my parlor window. Considering it no longer a safe place for my family, I lost no time in removing my wife and children to a less-exposed situation. Coming to the legation this morning, I saw two shells burst at the Arc de Triomphe. I do not know how long this business is to continue, but the communists are evidently expecting an attack, for they have great numbers of soldiers in all the streets running out from the Champs Elysées. It is estimated that the losses of the insurgents in the last week amount to more than seven thousand. There continues to be a great deal of dissatisfaction evinced in regard to the direction of their military affairs. General Bergeret, who commanded the army of Paris, is under arrest. The Commune has adopted a decree suppressing the grade of general, on the ground that such a grade is incompatible with the democratic organization of the national guard. Cluseret now seems to be the main man, and the Journal Officiel of the insurgents of to-day contains three orders signed by him.

Mr. Hoffman returned from Versailles on Friday evening last, where he had been for several days looking after such matters as required attention at the legation there. He found much difficulty in going and returning. I shall probably send him out again to-morrow instead of going myself, as in the present state of things I think it much more important for me to remain here than to be at Versailles.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 200.

Mr. Washburne to Count Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 11, 1871.

S'R: Since I had the honor of addressing your excellency on the 29th ultimo I have sent out of Paris only one hundred and twenty-two

families. There are yet remaining about eight hundred. It seems almost impossible for them to get away, as all their effects of whatever nature and description are held for their rent or are at the pawnbroker's, and even if they possessed anything which they could carry away with them, the railroad authorities of the Strasbourg line refuse to take any baggage whatever.

I am paying out small sums of money to those who remain, and shall continue to do so until there is a change in affairs, or until I receive from you instruction to the contrary.

The authorities of the commune refuse to permit any persons to leave Paris without a *laissez-passer*. This regulation is for the purpose of retaining all Frenchmen in the city to fight against the government at Versailles. As still charged with the protection of your countrymen I have given a *laissez-passer* to all who have applied to me, and I believe that such passes have been respected by the national guards in all cases, for I can hear of no German holding one who has been refused permission to go out. The hostility to the Germans of which I spoke in my letter of the 29th instant, seems to have abated somewhat, and I have heard in no instance of violence since that date. It is impossible for me to know of the detention of Germans in prison, but every application I have made for the release of those whom I have known to be in prison has been promptly granted.

While my official residence is at Versailles, I deem it my duty to remain in Paris most of the time, as I do not know what may happen from day to day, and it is impossible to tell how much the interest of my countrymen and the subjects of the North German Confederation might be compromised by my absence.

As I am aware of so little in regard to the operations of the government at Versailles or of what it is intending to do, it is impossible to arrive at any definite opinion as to the length of time this extraordinary state of things in Paris is to last. Every day's delay apparently renders the suppression of the insurrection more difficult. The appearances are that a desperate defense is to be made inside the walls. New barricades are being put up in various portions of the city. Everything is too uncertain, however, to justify speculation as to future events in Paris, though I confess I see but little light in the gloom that is settling around us.

The government troops around Versailles are now bombarding the city in the vicinity of the Arc de Triomphe, and shells have fallen so thickly around my residence that I have been obliged to remove my family to another part of the city. Several shells have exploded in the rue de Chaillot, near my legation.

I take this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Count DE BISMARCK,

&c., &c., &c.

No. 201.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 417.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, April 13, 1871. (Received April 27.)

SIR: I regret to say that I can see nothing very encouraging in the present situation here. To be sure they are getting in a good many

troops, and the morale of the Versailles army has greatly increased since the fighting began, but yet they do not seem to be ready to attack. Marshal MacMahon has taken command of the whole army. Large preparations are being made, and it certainly cannot be a long time before active operations will be commenced. It is my opinion that the insurgents are gaining strength every day. It is currently reported here to-day that the government troops were worsted yesterday at Neuilly. I fear it will be a long time and a bloody time before these terrible troubles in Paris are ended.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 202.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 418.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 14, 1871. (Received April 27.)

SIR: I came in from Versailles late last night after having been there three days. Mr. Hoffman relieved me, and will remain there until I shall go out again. Upon my return here my impression is strengthened that the power of the insurgents is all the while increasing. In my No. 416 I stated it too strongly when I said the insurgents had no men outside the city except those in the forts. They have a large force in the direction of Neuilly and Courbevoie, and, indeed, they claim to have retaken Neuilly from the Versailles troops. Fighting is going on all the time. The city has more and more the appearance of a great camp. New barricades are being built, and cannon are being placed in new positions. The Versailles troops continue the bombardment of our quarter of the city, and the day before yesterday a shell exploded directly over the legation, and, falling, struck the lower portion of the building within twenty feet of where I am now writing. The Americans who are here are becoming more and more alarmed, and the legation is thronged by them from morning to night seeking passports and protection papers for their property. I fear I shall have to send my family away again, as a great many of the French people now consider a siege not improbable, and already the prices of living have advanced very much. It will be four weeks to-morrow since the insurrection broke out, and things have been going from bad to worse all the time. It is estimated that three hundred thousand people have left Paris in the last fortnight. All persons are either concealing or carrying away their capital. The sources of labor are dried up. There is neither trade, commerce, traffic, nor manufacture of any sort. All the gold and silver that has been found in the churches, and all the plate belonging to the government found in the different ministries, has been seized by the Commune to be converted into coin. The Catholic clergy continue to be hunted down. The priests are openly placarded as thieves, and the churches denounced as "haunts, where they have morally assassinated the masses, in dragging France under the heels of the scoundrels Bonaparte, Favre, and Trochu."

A most remarkable decree is just published in the official organ of the commune. It is no less than an order to demolish the world-renowned column Vendôme, in the place Vendôme. It is denounced as a monument of barbarism, and a symbol of brute force and false glory, a permanent insult cast by the victors on the vanquished, and a perpetual

attack on one of the great principles of the French republic: *fraternity*. Hence, the decree to raze it to the ground. A gentleman just in says that the firing from Mout Valerien has completely demolished the insurgent barricades at the Port Maillot, and to-day Mont Valerien is bombarding the Port de Ternes. The Arc de Triomphe has been struck twenty-seven times. The splendid hotel of the Turkish embassy, in the Place d'Etoile, has been very badly damaged by shells from Mont Valerien. The apartment of Mr. Pell, of New York, at No. 12 rue de Presbourg, has also been badly damaged. The building in which Mr. Hoffmann has his apartment in avenue d'Eylau has been struck four times.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 203.

Mr. von Thile to Mr. Washburne.

[Translation.]

BERLIN, April 17, 1871.

SIR: I have seen with pleasure, by your letter of the 29th of the past month, that you continue with your usual kindness to interest yourself in the fate of the Germans living in Paris. Since the receipt of your letter I have had purchased at London four drafts to bearer of the value of 109,000 francs, 50,000 francs, 19,000 francs, and 3,234 francs 90 centimes—total, 181,234 francs and 90 centimes; drawn on banking-houses at Paris, to enable you to furnish to needy German families, who desire to leave Paris, the means of setting out.

These drafts having been sent to the Imperial Governor-General at Soisy, I beg you, sir, to kindly designate directly to Mr. Fabrice the way by which they may be addressed to you more securely.

Receive, sir, on this occasion, the assurance of my high consideration.

VON THILE.

Mr. WASHBURN, &c., &c., &c.

No. 204.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 420.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 18, 1871. (Received May 4.)

SIR: I have not been to Versailles since I came from there on Thursday last. Even if the state of my health had not prevented, I should have deemed it my duty to have remained here, as there is still a great deal to do in the way of protection to the persons and property of our countrymen as well as the Germans. The alarm among all classes of persons is daily increasing, and nearly every one is leaving, or preparing to leave, as soon as possible. There has been a great deal of difficulty within the last few days in regard to passports, the insurgent authorities having refused to recognize our passports unless issued or viséed on the very day on which it is presented. The applications for passports and for certificates of the ownership of the property of Americans, and which we call "protection papers," have been very numerous in the last

few days. The state of things existing here at this time produces strange results. By a decree of the Commune, all Frenchmen between the ages of nineteen and forty are liable to do military duty, and hence no Frenchman is permitted to go out of the gates of Paris. There are a great many people who belong to Alsace and Lorraine between those ages, and within the last week no less than four hundred and fifty have applied to me for *laissez-passer*s as citizens of the Empire of Germany. On exhibiting to me satisfactory evidence that before the war they were citizens of Alsace and that portion of Lorraine incorporated into the German Empire by the late treaty, I have not hesitated to give each one a special *laissez-passer*.

A case has been brought to my attention to-day of a Catholic priest, a native of Alsace, who has been arrested and cast into Mazas along with many of his order. I shall, to-morrow, make an officious application to the Commune for his release as a German subject. Domiciliary visits, arrests, and perquisitions are becoming more and more numerous. All refractory national guards are seized and either cast into prison or put into the front rank in the attack. Two days ago a very respectable man living near the legation was torn from his family, sent to the front, and the next day slain in battle. The invasion of houses is no longer confined to those of official persons, or of persons particularly obnoxious on account of their relations to the empire. Many private residences have already been pillaged, and among them those of the Péreire Brothers, and Charles Lafitte, the bankers. The house adjoining my own residence in the avenue de l'Impératrice was pillaged on Saturday night last, and even the personal effects of the concierge were carried off. My own house was probably spared the same fate by my personal occupation of it. The invasion and violation of the Belgian legation on Sunday last, by a battalion of the national guards, is a fact of peculiar gravity. While the official organ of the Commune denounces this act, and says that an investigation will be immediately ordered, and the accused parties sent before a council of war, the trouble is that the Commune wields no sufficient authority to punish any outrage or suppress any violence.

There is no knowing what legation will be next invaded. The first indication for confiscation of private property on a magnificent scale appears in a decree of the Commune this morning. It is a practical seizure of the work-shops of Paris, which are to be turned over to the various co-operative working societies. The farce is to be gone through with a jury of arbitration to fix upon the amount of indemnity to be paid to the owners of property. Of course, such owners are not represented on the jury, and have no voice whatever in the matter. The Commune has adopted a measure fraught with very serious consequences to all property-holders in Paris, and of course involving the interests of all Americans who are unfortunate enough to hold property here at this time. It is the levying of a new tax to go into the coffers of the Commune. When the time comes around, if it ever do come, for the collection of this tax, there will be but few if any Americans here to determine for themselves what they will do in the premises. I shall tell all that the tax is without the semblance of legal authority and advise them not to pay it. What will be the result in all this business, if the insurrection shall not be speedily put down, it is impossible to tell. There is no improvement in the situation since the date of my last dispatch. I can as yet see nothing that leads me to believe that the insurrection is to be speedily put down. All the talk that has been made that some arrangement was to be arrived at between M. Thiers and the Commune

amounts to nothing. All the concessions which it was signified would be made to the insurgents have been spit upon. It is one month to-day since this insurrection broke out, and here we are daily going from bad to worse. Day after day passes and nothing is done. Paris continues to be left at the mercy of the Commune, and now a siege is threatened, which, considering the actual situation, can only be contemplated with horror. The military situation is not much changed. At Asnières yesterday the insurgents were badly beaten, but with that exception the fighting for the last few days has amounted to but little, although there has been a great deal of powder and ball wasted. Direct communication with London by the Northern Railroad is still open, and I hope to be able to forward this dispatch to London to-night.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 205.

Mr. Washburne to Prince Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 20, 1871.

SIR: By a decree of the commune of Paris, all Frenchmen between the ages of nineteen and forty are made liable to do military duty, and hence Frenchmen within those ages are not permitted to pass outside the gates of the city without a special *laissez passer*, issued by the Commune. There are many men in Paris, liable to military duty under that decree, who belong to Alsace and Lorraine. Within the past few days more than five hundred persons have come to me to demand my protection, claiming it on the ground that, since the treaty of peace, they have become subjects of the German Empire. As such subjects, they have asked of me *laissez-passers*, to enable them to go out of Paris, and on exhibiting satisfactory evidence that they were, before the war, citizens of Alsace and that portion of Lorraine incorporated into the German Empire by the late treaty, I have not hesitated to give each one a special pass to leave the city and to repair to his country. As yet, I have heard of only one instance where a person holding such a pass from me has been refused permission to go out.

A case has been brought to my attention of a Catholic priest, claiming to have belonged to Alsace, who has been arrested by the authorities of the Commune and cast into the prison of Mazas, along with many others of his order. As soon as I shall receive satisfactory evidence that he is an Alsatian, I propose to make an officious application for his release as a German subject.

I will be glad to know if my actions in these matters meet the approval of your excellency. I should be glad to be advised, further, if the persons or property of German subjects in Paris (I include citizens of Alsace and that portion of Lorraine now a part of the German Empire) shall be threatened and my officious intervention shall not be heeded, whether I shall wait for communication with you or report the case to your military authorities nearest Paris.

On the 29th ultimo I had the honor to address you in relation to the necessity of further funds, if I were to continue to give *secours* to your countrymen now here.

The money which you placed in my hands having been exhausted, and hearing nothing from you, I have to-day sent you a dispatch on the subject, to be forwarded from Versailles.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency PRINCE DE BISMARCK, &c., &c., &c.

No. 206.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Extract.]

No. 422.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 20, 1871. (Received May 4.)

SIR: In the way in which things go on in Paris, I am afraid that in writing about them so frequently I may be in danger of repeating myself. No one could have supposed when this insurrection broke out, on the 18th ultimo, that nearly five weeks would have rolled around without any prospect of its immediate suppression. I am certain that I never believed that it would fall to my lot to live, with my family, in a city of two millions of people in a state of insurrection for such a length of time as the present one has already lasted. I should be too happy if I could advise you that I could see any prospect of a termination of the terrible state of things existing here. Nothing comes to us from Versailles, that can be relied on, to show that effective measures are soon to be taken to expel the insurgents from power and to re-establish the authority of the government in Paris. To be sure, we hear rumors of attack and assault in great and overpowering force, and then other rumors of a siege; but day after day passes away without particular results further ban heating still hotter the blood and inflaming still further the existing hatreds and animosities. * * * * *

Men in the Assembly and out of the Assembly are becoming impatient, yet can effect nothing. There is a great deal of fighting going on, always in the same places, that is, in the direction of Asnières, Neuilly, and Courbevoie. The same shelling of the city continues, and beneficial results are always wanting to the attacking forces. So far as we may be able to judge (and this thing has continued for nearly three weeks), but little has been accomplished, for the government troops have not yet reached the walls of the city. An attack in force may, however, take place at any day, of which you may be advised before this dispatch shall reach you.

An election took place here on Sunday last to fill vacancies in the Commune, and although great efforts had been made to induce people to vote, there was a very general and significant abstention. Cluseret was a candidate in one of the arrondissements, and out of 21,360 votes inscribed, he obtained only 1,968 votes; and yet the Commune, in contempt of a law that has always been respected, which declares that no candidate be elected without receiving one-eighth of all the votes inscribed, has declared his election good. The suppression of the journals still continues. The Official Journal of the Commune of yesterday morning announced that the following papers were suppressed: Le Bien Public, La Cloche, Le Soir, L'Avenir National. Two of these papers,

however, have appeared to-day, in spite of the order of suppression, *Le Bien Public* and *L'Avenir National*.

It seems useless for me to speak of the condition of Paris at the present moment. Fortune, business, public and private credit, industry, labor, financial enterprise, are all buried in one common grave. It is everywhere devastation, desolation, ruin. The physiognomy of the city becomes more and more sad. All the upper part of the Champs Elysées, and all of that portion of the city surrounding the Arc of Triumph, continue to be deserted, in fear of the shells. In coming from my residence to the legation it seems like a city of the dead; not a carriage, and hardly a human being, in the streets. Immense barricades are still going up at the Place de la Concorde. The great manufactories and workshops are closed. Those vast stores, where are to be found the wonders and marvels of Parisian industry, are no longer open. The cafés now close at ten o'clock in the evening; the gas is extinguished; and Paris, without its brilliantly-lighted cafés, with their thronging multitudes, is Paris no longer.

A dispatch-bag arrived from London this morning, bringing Washington dates to the 7th and New York papers to the 8th instant. As I propose leaving for Versailles to-morrow morning, I shall not have the honor of writing you further to go by the dispatch-bag which leaves for London to-morrow night.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 207.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Extract.]

No. 422.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 23, 1871. (Received May 10.)

SIR:

* * * * *

You are aware that Monseigneur Darboy, the archbishop of Paris, was seized some time since, by order of the commune, and thrust into prison to be held as a hostage. Such treatment of that most devout and excellent man could have but created a great sensation, particularly in the Catholic world. On Thursday night last I received a letter from Monseigneur Chigi, archbishop of Myre and Apostolic Nuncio of the Holy See, and also a communication from Mr. Louoner, Canon of the diocese of Paris; Mr. Lagarde, the vicar-general of Paris; and Messrs. Bourset and Allain, Canons and members of the Metropolitan Chapter of the Church of Paris, all making a strong appeal to me, in the name of the right of nations, humanity, and sympathy, to interpose my good offices in behalf of the imprisoned archbishop. I have thought that I should have been only conforming to what I believed to be the policy of our government, and carrying out what I conceived to be your wishes under the circumstances, by complying with the request of the gentlemen who have addressed me. I, therefore, early this morning put myself in communication with General Cluseret, who seems, at the present time, to be the directing man in affairs here. I told him that I applied to him not in my diplomatic capacity, but simply in the interest of good feeling and humanity, to see if it were not possible to have the arch-

bishop relieved from arrest and confinement. He answered that it was not a matter within his jurisdiction, and however much he would like to see the archbishop released, he thought, in consideration of the state of affairs, it would be impossible. He said that he was not arrested for crime, but simply to be held as a hostage, as many others had been. Under the existing circumstances he thought it would be useless to take any steps in that direction. I, myself, thought the Commune would not dare in the present excited state of public feeling in Paris to release the archbishop. I told General Cluseret, however, that I must see him to ascertain his real situation, the condition of his health, and whether he was in want of anything. He said there would be no objection to that, and he immediately went with me, in person, to see the Procureur of the Commune; and upon his application I received from the prefect a permission to visit the archbishop freely at any time. In company with my private secretary, Mr. McKean, I then went to the Mazas prison, where I was admitted without difficulty, and being ushered into one of the vacant cells the archbishop was very soon brought in. I must say that I was deeply touched at the appearance of this venerable man. With his slender person, his form somewhat bent, his long beard, for he has not been shaved apparently since his confinement, his face haggard with ill-health, all could not have failed to have moved the most indifferent. I told him I had taken great pleasure, at the instance of his friends, in intervening on his behalf, and while I could not promise myself the satisfaction of seeing him released, I was very glad to be able to visit him to ascertain his wants, and to assuage the cruel position in which he found himself. He thanked me most heartily and cordially for the disposition I had manifested toward him. I was charmed by his cheerful spirit and his interesting conversation. He seemed to appreciate his critical situation, and to be prepared for the worst. He had no word of bitterness or reproach for his persecutors, but on the other hand remarked that the world judged them to be worse than they really were. He was patiently awaiting the logic of events and praying that Providence might find a solution to these terrible troubles without the further shedding of human blood. He is confined in a cell about 6 feet by 10, possibly a little larger, which has the ordinary furniture of the Mazas prison, a wooden chair, a small wooden table, and a prison bed. The cell is lighted by one small window. As a political prisoner he is permitted to have his food brought to him from outside of the prison, and in answer to my suggestion that I should be glad to send him anything he might desire, or furnish him with any money he might want, he said that he was not in need at present. I was the first man he had seen from the outside since his imprisonment, and he had not been permitted to see the newspapers, or to have any intelligence of passing events. I shall make application to the Procureur of the Commune to be allowed to send him newspapers and other reading-matter, and shall also avail myself of the permission granted me to visit him, to the end that I may afford him any proper assistance in my power. I cannot conceal from myself, however, the great danger he is in, and I sincerely hope that I may be instrumental in saving him from the fate which seems to threaten him.

I have, &c.,

E. E. WASHBURNE.

No. 208.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 425.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 25, 1871. (Received May 10.)

SIR: Though I stated in my dispatch, No. 433, upon whose application it was that I intervened on behalf of the archbishop of Paris, I think it better to send you a copy of the letter of his excellency Monseigneur Chigi, the papal nuncio accredited to the Government of France, and also a copy of the letter of the vicar-general of Paris and his associates, both of which were addressed to me, showing the grounds upon which they based their request. I have just learned that the British embassy was appealed to in this matter, before any application was made to me, and that all intervention whatever was declined. This action, however, of the English legation, if it had been known to me, would have made no difference, for I should have considered myself perfectly justified in extending my good offices, officially, in behalf of a man so eminent for his piety and so distinguished for his liberal sentiments and philanthropic views as the archbishop of Paris, now so cruelly persecuted.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

Monseigneur Chigi to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES MANTREUIL,
2 Old Church Street, April 18, 1871.

MR. MINISTER AND DEAR COLLEAGUE: Permit me to request you to receive with kindness, in quite a confidential way, four ecclesiastic canons of the Metropolitan Church in Paris, who come to implore your protection in behalf of the archbishop, incarcerated by the insurgents in Paris. Permit me to add my entreaties to those of the good canons, and to assure you of my deep gratitude for all you may be able to do, and to try, at least, to obtain that the life of Monseigneur Darboy be not in danger.

Be pleased, Mr. Minister, to accept the assurance of my high consideration and my gratitude.

FLAVIUS CHIGI,
Arch. de Mejen, Nonce Apostolique.

[Inclosure 2.]

MR. MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY: The sad events which are taking place in Paris have not failed to attract the attention of your excellency, and, among other deplorable excesses which the civil war has caused in this unhappy city, the arrest of monseigneur the archbishop and the principal members of his clergy will have been particularly remarked by the different representatives of powers, friends to France.

Taking ground upon this friendship, and upon the good relations that exist between the Government of the United States of America and our country, we, the canons and members of the Metropolitan Church Chapter of Paris, such that could assemble, take the liberty to beg your excellency to be so kind as to interpose your good offices in a manner which you may think proper, in order to obtain as soon as possible the deliverance of our archbishop, and that the cause of humanity and civilization may cease to suffer in his person, doubly respectable, as well in his dignity as by his merits, one of the greatest infringements which could ever have been inflicted upon him.

Every political idea, however, being excluded, we place ourselves entirely upon the law of nations, and upon the sympathy that such unmerited treatment cannot fail to

inspire, and we venture to hope that your excellency may favorably receive our request, and that you will give it such results as we may wish.

In this hope and confidence, we have the honor to be, Mr. Minister Plenipotentiary, your excellency's very humble and obedient servants,

LOUVRIER,

Chanoine Pénitencier du Diocèse de Paris.

E. J. LAGARDE,

Vicaire-Général de Paris, Archie-diacre.

EN BOUNET, *Chanoine.*

L. ALLAIN, *Chanoine, Secrétaire.*

No. 209.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Extracts.]

No. 427.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, April 25, 1871. (Received May 10.)

SIR:

* * * * *

Before the Journal Officiel of the Commune had reached the legation this morning, Mr. Malet, of the British embassy, called to see me in relation to a decree of the Commune, which appeared in that paper of to-day, by which requisition was made of all the vacant apartments in Paris. As this was a matter of great importance to both English and American residents, who have furnished apartments in the city, we determined it was necessary to take immediate steps for the purpose of protecting such apartments from being occupied. We therefore addressed ourselves to M. Paschal Grousset, the "*délégué aux affaires étrangères.*"

* * * * *

He is a man of intelligence, education, and genteel personal appearance. He received us with genuine politeness, in the same room where I had been received by eight or ten different ministers of foreign affairs of the regular government. After explaining to him the object of our visit, he was very prompt to say that it was never intended that the decree should include the apartments of foreigners, though by inadvertence it was not so stated. He said he would have the correction made, and that orders should be given that the apartments of foreigners should not be molested; that if we should hear of any disturbance of such apartments, belonging either to the Americans or the English, and would inform him of the fact, he would take immediate measures to have the evil corrected. We thanked him for so promptly and so satisfactorily responding to our wishes, and took our leave.

* * *

From the foreign office I went in person to the prefecture of police, to obtain the discharge of several Germans, one of them a priest, incarcerated at Mazas. There I found a young man in charge, who very promptly complied with my request, and gave me written orders to have them set at liberty. Yesterday an American lady called at the legation to beg me to interest myself to procure the release from prison of two Sisters of Charity (French). This lady was herself a Sister of Charity, and a daughter of the late Governor Roman, of Louisiana. The two nuns in prison were her friends, and had been torn away from the convent by some members of the national guard, about three or four weeks ago. She, of course, felt the greatest uneasiness in regard to their fate. I told her that while I could interfere in no way officially, I would, as an

act of friendship to her as an American, call the attention of the authorities to the case of her friends. I accordingly mentioned the matter to the man in charge of the prefecture, and without hesitation he gave me an order for their release also. This I took in person to the depot of prisoners at the conciergerie, and, after waiting about an hour to have some formalities gone through, I had the pleasure of seeing the two sisters safely outside the prison-walls. From the conciergerie, I went to Mazas, and there I found no difficulty in securing the release of the three German prisoners, including the priest. I availed myself of the occasion of again being in the prison, and called upon the archbishop of Paris, taking to him some newspapers and a bottle of old Madeira wine. I found him about the same as he was on Sunday, and manifesting the same cheerful spirit. I was sorry I could not communicate to him a favorable change in the situation. * * * * *

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 210.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Washburne.

No. 272.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 28, 1871.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 8th instant, No. 413, inclosing the statement of the case of Mr. Albert C. Fougen, who claims to be a citizen of the United States, in regard to the appropriation and destruction of his property in France by the Prussian forces.

In reply I have to inform you that the Court of Claims, adopting the language of my predecessor, Mr. Seward, has decided it to be the law and usage of nations that one who takes up a residence in a foreign place, and there suffers an injury to his property, by reason of belligerent acts committed against that place by another foreign nation, must abide the chances of the country in which he chooses to reside, and his only chance if any, is against the government of that country, in which his own sovereign will not interest himself. Such has been the doctrine and practice of the United States and of the great powers of Europe, and this government, therefore, cannot intervene in behalf of Mr. Fougen, or of any citizen of the United States, under the same circumstances.

I am, &c.,

HAMILTON FISH.

No. 211.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 429.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, April 28, 1871. (Received May 12.)

SIR: There has been but very little change of situation in Paris since I had the honor of addressing you my last dispatch. The Versailles troops have been vigorously bombarding the forts of Issy and Vanves for the past two or three days, but they have not yet taken possession

of either of them. Constant fighting has been going on at Asnieres and the surrounding villages since Wednesday, but I can hear of no results. The applications for passes by the Alsatians and Lorrainers continue to be made in large numbers. I have already given more than fifteen hundred. Yesterday I ascertained that the authorities of the Commune had, from a day or two before, been requiring a *visa* from the prefecture of police for all the *laissez-passers* I had given, and a fee of two francs for each *visa*. I immediately sent to the prefect to make a remonstrance, and he very promptly agreed to waive the formality which requires the holder of a pass to appear at the prefecture and pay the fee, and to put the stamp of the prefect upon such blank *laissez-passers* as I might send him.

In my No. 427 I spoke of the interview of Mr. Malet and myself with Mr. Paschal Grousset, in regard to the protection of the apartments of foreigners. The Journal Officiel of the Commune yesterday contained a notice on this subject from Mr. Grousset, a copy of which I inclose herewith, and which you will perceive goes as far as any one could ask.

We are yet in the dark as to the design of the Versailles government, so far as regards the reduction of Paris—whether an attempt will be made to take it by assault or whether it will be besieged. It will be six weeks to-morrow since the insurrection broke out, and the prospect of its suppression *seems* as remote as ever.

I propose to go to Versailles to-morrow, and to return on Monday. While there, I shall endeavor to present my letter of credence to Mr. Thiers.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 212.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 431.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 2, 1871. (Received May 16.)

SIR: Cluseret, having "strutted his brief hour on the stage," was suddenly withdrawn from public view on Sunday night last, having been arrested by order of the Commune and thrust into the Conciergerie. When his arrest became known yesterday, it produced a great deal of excitement in the city. There are various surmises in regard to the causes of this extraordinary arrest. The Journal Officiel of the Commune of this morning says it is on account of his incapacity and his negligence, which had compromised the possession of the fort of Issy. There is another report that the late "delegate to the war department" was concerned in the plot to overthrow the Commune; another, that he had sold himself to the Versailles government; and yet another, that he was a mere agent of the Orleans faction. At any rate, he is in jail, and a report is current to-day that he is to be sent to a military tribunal. Mr. Cluseret has been the leading figure in the insurrection for the past three or four weeks, wielding an immense power, and I am surprised that, having control of the army as he has had, he should have permitted himself to be thus "taken off." This arrest, together with a decree which appears in the insurrectionary Journal Officiel of this morning, organizing a committee of public safety, to consist of five members named by the Commune, with the fullest powers and respon-

sible only to the Commune, has created a greater feeling of terror in the whole community than anything I have seen yet. Cluseret is succeeded by Colonel Rossel, who is a graduate of the polytechnic school, and an engineer officer in the regular army. He was in the army of the Loire, and, I believe, was recommended for a brigadier-general, but the appointment was not made; whereupon he joined his fortunes to those of the Commune.

It was believed at Versailles, when I left there at 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon, that the fort of Issy was taken, but the papers of the Commune this morning deny it, and claim that they yet hold it. There are indications of a more desperate energy than I have yet seen. If the fort of Issy shall fall into the possession of the government, the forts of Vanves and Montrouge must very soon thereafter follow suite. When that takes place, I think we may expect a breach soon to be made in the walls of the city, and an attempt be made to enter. In the madness which prevails here, I will not undertake any prediction of what will happen in the event of an attempt to take the city by assault. I found at Versailles yesterday that a more cheerful feeling prevailed in the military circles, and great confidence was expressed that in one week the government would be master in Paris. From what I see and know of the situation here, I must say I have great doubts on the subject.

I regret to say that I consider the life of the archbishop of Paris in the most imminent danger. The report that Prince de Bismarck had determined to intervene to save the life of the archbishop, having unfortunately got out, caused great excitement. On Sunday last a party of the national guards made their way into the prison of Mazas, with the avowed purpose of shooting the archbishop. Most fortunately, a member of the Commune made his appearance at the moment, and was able to prevent the purpose from being carried out. The regular keepers of the prison were very much alarmed, and removed the archbishop from the cell which he occupied to another in a different part of the prison. What was prevented on Sunday by the accidental presence of a member of the Commune may happen any day. Having reason to believe that General Fabrice is charged by his government to do what he can to save the life of the archbishop, and charged as I am here with the protection of German interests, as well as in the interests of humanity, I have deemed it my duty to send him a confidential verbal message, by a member of my legation, advising him of the present critical position of the archbishop, to the end, if he have any instructions to intervene, that he may take such steps in the matter as he may deem proper.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 213.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 433.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 5, 1871. (Received May 19.)

SIR: I shall send a dispatch-bag to London to-night, but shall have nothing of very great importance to communicate to you. Military movements under the walls of Paris have been more active for the past few days than at any time since the insurrection began, but I cannot see that the Versailles troops have made any great headway. After all

S. Ex. 24—13

the talk, the fort of Issy has not yet been taken, but I consider it impossible for it to hold out much longer. The bombardment of all of our portion of the city, from Mont Valerien and the fortifications at Courbevoie, was much heavier yesterday than it had been any day previous. Shells came down the Champs Elysées as far as the Palace of Industry. Of course I have no knowledge of the plans of the government troops, or what the expectation of the Versailles people is at the present moment, as to how soon they will be able to suppress the insurrection; but I must say now, as I have before said, that I see no immediate prospect of a speedy termination of this frightful contest. While the government, for six or seven weeks, has been concentrating its troops and gathering strength, the Commune has been strengthening itself in a greater ratio. With an army of seventy or eighty thousand effective men, well armed and equipped, with an abundant supply of cannon of every caliber, and of mitrailleuses, with more ammunition than could be consumed in a year, with gunboats upon the Seine, with the possession of all the forts on the south side of the city, it can well be imagined that it is no small job to take Paris at the present time, with its enceinte, and prepared, as it has now become, by its interior barricades and defenses, to resist at almost every step. And the pecuniary resources of the Commune are unbounded, for it holds in its own grasp all the wealth of Paris. It only has to make its decrees, to be enforced by the national guard, to seize everything of value upon which hands can be laid. It not only lays under contribution every source of revenue, but it has now commenced an organized pillage. As I am writing, an Alsatian who has called upon me to ask my protection, as being a German subject, informs me that night before last some national guards, armed with the authority of the committee of public safety, invaded the magnificient hotel of Mr. Martin (du Nord), one of the richest manufacturers in France, in the rue de Paradis, and carried off everything they could find—furniture, plate, jewelry, decorations, &c., &c. The sole allegation against him was that having been a colonel in the national guards, he had left Paris and gone to Versailles. As time runs on, these outrages will increase in number, and without the warrant of any pretended authority whatever. Nothing can be more terrible than the present prospect in Paris, and the discouragement of all the better classes has become complete. I continue to have the greatest anxiety for the large interests of our countrymen here, as well as of those Germans who are under my protection, and I propose to remain to protect them as long as my services can be of any value. The little that is to be done at Versailles at the present time can be attended to by Mr. Hoffman as well as by myself, and, as the interests which I represent are still so much more important in Paris, I have deemed it my duty, disagreeable as it is, to remain here most of the time.

The subjects of Alsace and Lorraine continue to throng the legation from morning until night, seeking *laissez-passers* and protection. The number of persons to whom I have given passes now reaches twenty-five hundred. I wrote to Prince Bismarck of the action I had taken in this regard, and he has directed General Fabrice, in command of the German forces now stationed near Paris, to thank me for what I have already done, and to request me to continue to act in the same way.

I propose to go to Versailles to-morrow and to pass the Sabbath with my family near Rambouillet, and to return here again on Monday. Our last dates are, from Washington, April 21, and from New York, the day following.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 214.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 437.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, May 11, 1871. (Received May 26.)

SIR: The crisis seems to be really approaching. You will have seen the announcement of the capture of the fort of Issy by the Versailles troops, and the report this evening is that the fort of Vanves has also fallen. The government, having apparently completed the preparations, is now attacking Paris with great fury. The new and powerful battery of seventy-two guns of the heaviest caliber at Montretout has been firing for the past few days on the enceinte, and particularly on the gate of Versailles. Large numbers of the government troops have crossed the Seine at Sevres, and, through the village of Boulogne-sur-Seine, advanced into the Bois de Boulogne. It is said that they were yesterday establishing breaching-batteries at a point not more than two or three hundred yards from the ramparts. When a breach shall be made in that direction, there will be little difficulty in coming inside of the walls and taking possession of Passy—in fact, of all that portion of the city in the neighborhood of the Arc of Triumph. The insurrectionary force are said to have been withdrawn from these positions, and the resistance that will be made by the insurgents will be in other parts of the city. I thought a week ago that the opposition would be greater than I am now satisfied it will be. The continued hammering away of the government troops, the surprise and capture of the redoubt Moulin Sacquet, the taking of Fort Issy, and the inevitable fall of the fort of Vanves, have created great demoralization in the city. Yesterday was a day of panic. The announcement of the capture of Fort Issy, and the extraordinary letter of Rossel, the delegate at the war department, giving his resignation (a copy which I send herewith as a sort of historic document), created a great commotion. The desperate wrangles in the Commune, and the quarrel between that august body and the central committee, which were all well known to the public, added to the general excitement.

The members of the committee of public safety, as it was first organized, not having met public expectations, were suddenly discharged, and five other men of the most desperate character in the Commune (one of them being a murderer) were appointed. Rossel, like his predecessors, Assi, Bergeret, and Cluseret, was arrested and ordered to be sent to a military tribunal. It seems that he was put in charge for safe custody into the hands of one of the members of the Commune, and it appears to-day that both the prisoner and his keeper have run away. Delescluze, a notorious agitator, has been appointed to the war department in the place of Rossel, and if the Versailles troops do not come in, he may run a week before he finds a hospitable shelter within the walls of Mazas. Signs of demoralization and discouragement are everywhere visible. The national guard is being weakened every day, not only by its losses in actual combat and in prisoners, but by vast numbers of desertions. Almost every man who has the chance to do so with any degree of safety to himself is slipping out of the service, and instead of an army of sixty or eighty thousand, as claimed a week ago, I do not believe one-half that number can be counted on to-day. A good many think that, in the present feeling of discouragement, the government troops could enter and retake Paris without any serious resistance; but others, of an equal number, look upon a desperate contest and the shedding of a great deal

of blood as inevitable. The worse things grow, the more desperate the Commune becomes. One of its last acts is a decree for the immediate demolition of the house of Mr. Thiers. Pillage, under the name of "perquisitions," is the order of the day. All the churches are either closed or converted into club-houses. That immense edifice, the old and historic church of St. Eustache, has been the favorite place of resort for the revolutionary and turbulent population of the central part of the city. All the convents have been shut up, and all the priests and a large number of the Sisters of Charity have been imprisoned. All of the valuables belonging to the churches and to the convents have been stolen and carried off. The archbishop is still in prison, and his situation is becoming daily more and more dangerous. I am interesting myself officially in endeavoring to have him exchanged for Blanqui, who is under sentence of death for contumacy for his part in the attempted insurrection of the 31st of October last. The Commune has once agreed to make the exchange, which Mr. Thiers declined, but the archbishop, whom I saw in prison yesterday, thinks he may now agree to it, in view of the increasing dangers to which he is exposed.

In addition to the letter of Rossel, I send you a copy of the proclamation of Mr. Thiers to the people of Paris, and also, as a curiosity, I send you some numbers of the insurrectionary journals published in the city. Of the papers I have been in the habit of sending you, all have been suppressed except the Siecle. Applications for *laissez-passer* for the Alsatiens and German Lorrainers continue to be made in great numbers. We have given two hundred and forty-three to-day, making the whole number three thousand four hundred and seventy-four, and "the cry is, still they come."

MAY 12, 1871.—Nothing new to-day of any importance. While the fighting continues very fiercely all around, we see no evidence of the Versailles troops coming into the city. The insurrectionary Journal Officiel of this morning contains a furious address to the people of Paris from the committee of public safety, charging treason and corruption in the ranks, the first fruit of which was the abandonment of Fort Issy. It says that the threads of the dark conspiracy have been discovered, and that the largest portion of the guilty have been arrested. It further says that while the crime of these men is frightful, their chastisement will be exemplary; that a court-martial is sitting in permanence, and that justice will be done. It is very probable that Cluseret is embraced among the "guilty."

The same journal contains a decree of the Commune, suppressing six additional papers, making twenty-one in all that have been suppressed by the insurrectionary authority.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 215.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

[Extracts.]

No. 441.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, May 16, 1871. (Received June 1.)

SIR: I went to Versailles on Saturday last, to relieve Mr. Hoffman for two or three days, and returned on Monday evening. The situation

there seems always to be the same. They are continually on the point of coming into Paris. It was so four weeks ago, and it was so last Monday. The day for the "supreme effort" evidently draws nigh, but I will have more to say on this subject in a later dispatch. In Paris I found there had been no particular change in things on my return. The work of the demolition of the house of Mr. Thiers in the Place St. Georges progresses. The hatred and rage of the Commune against the chief of the executive power surpass all bounds. The insurrectionist Journal Officiel of this morning has another decree in relation to the subject, providing that all the linen found in the house should be sent to the hospitals; that all the objects of art and valuable books should be sent to the Bibliotheque and National Museums; that the furniture should be sold at public auction, after being exposed in the sales-rooms, and that the products of the sale should go to the widows and orphans of the victims of the war, and the same destination should also be given to the proceeds of the sale of the materials of the house; and, lastly, that "upon the site of the hotel of the parricide should be established a public square." Mr. Thiers had lived in this house for nearly half a century, and it was there that he composed his great works and prepared the speeches which he had delivered at the French tribune, and there he had received the most celebrated political persons and savans of the age. There he had gathered the rarest works of art, books, and manuscripts that were to be found in all Europe. Such vandalism is without a parallel in the history of civilization. The national convention decreed the destruction of the house of Buzot, the Girondist, who had fled from Paris after the days of the 31st of May and 2d of June, when the convention placed him, among others, in accusation, but the destruction of the plain home of a deputy, not enriched by associations and historic souvenirs, was as nothing to the vandalism exhibited in the demolition of the house of the head of the French nation. As I write, 5.30 p. m., word comes to the legation that the "Column Vendome" has just fallen. Notice had been given from day to day that it was to fall at a stated hour, and immense crowds have been awaiting the moment of its overthrow. The Journal Officiel of the commune this morning announced that it would be thrown down precisely at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and as I drove along the boulevard, at the head of the Rue de la Paix, at half past two, the crowd of people collected in that place and in the Rue Castiglione was immense. Great numbers in this crowd were hoping that this splendid work of art would continue to resist all the appliances used to tear it down, until the arrival of the Versailles troops, but by far the greater number were waiting with intense anxiety for the moment when it might finally fall before a spirit of hatred and revenge which could see a triumph in the destruction of a work that had excited the wonder and admiration of the world. While the authorities of the Commune had some time since protested that no Germans remained in prison, not a day passes but that it is made known to me that more or less of them are still incarcerated. The whole time of Mr. McKean, who acts as my private secretary, is taken up in visiting the prisons and procuring the release of these persons. General Fabrice wrote me, a few days since, that four of the Sisters of Charity who were at the convent of Piepus, about which there has been so much scandal, were Germans, and that they had been arrested and imprisoned. He desired that I would have them immediately released. Mr. McKean addressed himself to the subject yesterday, and visited the delegate to the ministry of justice in relation to it. The delegate alleged that an examination disclosed that murders had been committed in the convent,

and that those particular sisters, with others, were held until it could be ascertained how far they were involved. The delegate in person took Mr. McKean to the convent, and explained to him the horrors that had been there enacted. While there, he saw many things that were suspicious, as explained to him. He seems incredulous in regard to the confinement of the insane women in the little boxes, about which so much has been said, and which has created such an intense feeling.

The Commune has now commenced its "*perquisitions*" for arms and men, taking the city by arrondissements. The national guards, under arms, surround the arrondissements, and keep all persons from going in or coming out. They then make an entry into each house, and go into every apartment and every room. If a door is not opened, it is immediately forced by a locksmith, who always accompanies the guard. All arms, of whatever nature, are seized and carried off. If a man is found, they demand of him "*pourquoi n'êtes vous pas de la Garde Nationale?*" If he does not prove that he is a foreigner, or that he does not owe service, by reason of age or infirmity, he is dragged away to some depot. There he is put into the uniform of a national guard, a musket placed in his hand, and then he is at once sent to the front.

The decrees and action of the Commune are becoming more and more outrageous, and I might say ridiculous, every day. One of the last performances is a decree providing that every citizen shall be supplied with a "*carte d'identité*," giving his name, age, profession, domicile, &c. The manner of obtaining this card is prescribed, and any man who is not the bearer of one is to be arrested and kept in arrest until he can regularly establish his identity. It is the duty of all national guards to require the exhibition of this card. This decree is in poor imitation of 1793, when, during the reign of terror, every person was required to have his "*certificate of civism*." The reason given by the Commune for this decree is, that the government of Versailles is seeking to introduce its secret agents into Paris, charged with the mission of making an "*appeal to treason*." The decree has been very badly received by the population of Paris, and even the most violent of the Commune journals criticise it severely. If it should be attempted to carry it into execution, it would tend to put an end to all circulation in the city, for every man would be liable to be called upon by some overzealous national guard to show his papers at about every step.

The suppression of newspapers still goes on. Six or seven have been suppressed since my last dispatch. The *Siècle*, that old republican journal, which was the only one left of the papers which you had directed to be sent to the Department, is in the last list of those proscribed. A new paper appears this morning, under the title of *Le Bulletin du Jour*, and I think it is the *Siècle* under another name. I send you some numbers of this last.

Scarcely a day passes without some singular incident. The man who commanded the whole of the national guard in Paris on the 18th of March, the day of the accomplishment of the insurrection, Charles Lullier, called at the legation to-day. He is a man of about thirty-two years of age, and was, up to within the last two or three years, a lieutenant in the French navy. He had been traveling in the United States, and only returned to France last October.

In the accomplishment of his purposes to release Germans from prison, Mr. McKean has had occasion to meet Mr. Delescluze, the new delegate at the ministry of war. He represents him as a most perfect type of the Jacobin and revolutionist of 1793. On visiting the war department, he found about forty officers awaiting their turn of admission to the presence

of the delegate. He sent in his card, and was immediately admitted, finding Delescluze installed in the same room where we had some three or four weeks before seen Cluseret in all the pride of his power and authority. There sat Delescluze in the same chair.

The wranglings and dissensions continue in the Commune. Twenty-two of the members have issued a manifesto, charging that the body has abdicated its power into the hands of a dictatorship, which is called the committee of public safety, and declared itself irresponsible, abandoning the situation to the committee. They consequently state that they will not again appear in the Commune until a different state of affairs exists, but will go into the midst of their brothers in the national guard. There is no doubt that the committee of public safety has now absorbed about all the powers of the present insurrectionary government, and has become the authority of the Commune greater than the Commune itself. A new phase of outrage was developed yesterday. A German, who had a shop in the Rue St. Antoine, had gone from the city, leaving his goods and effects in the charge of an agent. The agent appeared at the legation to-day to ascertain if protection could be given to him. The national guard had been to the premises of which he had charge and forced an entrance. He immediately sought a member of the Commune, to protest against this outrage, saying that the proprietor was a foreigner, and that his property was entitled to be respected. The answer was that the property of no man, either a Frenchman or a foreigner, who had left Paris, had any right to be respected, and would not be, but that it would be confiscated to the Commune. Satisfying myself that the owner of the shop was a German, who had a right to claim my protection, I gave a paper certifying to that fact, and stating that the property, being that of a foreigner, was entitled to be respected and protected; and, further, I informed the agent verbally that he might tell all persons who proposed to interfere with the property, that if any damage were done I should deem it my duty to inform General Fabrice of the fact, and he undoubtedly would take all measures necessary in the case. I have no opportunity to send to London to-night, and shall therefore retain this dispatch to go by the bag which I shall send out on Friday night next.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 216.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 444.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, May 19, 1871. (Received June 1.)

SIR: When I had the honor to address you my No. 437, under date of the 11th instant, I felt certain that before another week should roll around the Versailles troops would enter Paris. There was great demoralization in the city and among the national guard, and it seemed to me that if the government had attacked with any energy, its troops would certainly have been inside the walls before this time. Such, however, is not the case, yet the fighting for the past few days around the entire south side of the city has been very furious. Day by day passes and we see no troops of the line yet in Paris. The fort of Vanves was captured from the Commune on Sunday last, and Montrouge must

be at the end of its defense. Confusion increases in Paris; the commune is torn by intestine dissension, but yet the city is held, not so much, in my judgment, by the military strength of the insurrectionists as by the weakness of the attacking party. It seems impossible, however, for this condition of things to continue much longer. The insurrectionary authorities are more desperate than ever. In an official communication this morning, they say the committee of public safety is decided to blow up Paris and bury every one under its ruins rather than capitulate. Of course this is all wild talk, but it shows to what straits they feel themselves reduced.

I need not tell you how rejoiced I shall be when peace returns to this distracted and unhappy city, and when we shall have a more quiet state of affairs. The pressure upon the legation continues. As I am the only chief of a mission who remains in Paris, my good offices are sought for every hour of the day, not only by our own countrymen, but by people of other nationalities, who have an idea that I can be of some assistance to them. The Alsatians and German Lorrainers continue to come to seek my protection in increasing numbers. I reach the legation at quarter past 8 o'clock every morning, always to find a crowd of them assembled there. More than two hundred are now waiting in the street under my window, to receive their *laissez-passer*s. The whole number of passes issued by me now amounts to four thousand four hundred and fifty. As each case requires a special examination, to ascertain whether the party seeking protection is entitled to it, by virtue of his having become a German subject, you can well imagine the amount of labor that is involved. I have ten persons employed in this service not members of the legation. When the treaty of peace shall have been definitely ratified at Versailles, I hope that Prince de Bismarck will send a diplomatic representative here to relieve me.

The committee of public safety publishes a decree this morning suppressing ten more papers, and forbidding the publication of any new journals during the war. Several of the newspapers suppressed this morning have been supporters of the commune. I believe that every paper published in Paris before the insurrection, excepting "*La Vérité*," has been suppressed. Since I commenced writing this dispatch, I have again visited the archbishop, to communicate to him that it was impossible to effect his exchange for Blanqui. I am sorry to say I found him very feeble. He has been confined to his pallet for the last week with a kind of pleurisy; is without appetite, and very much reduced in strength. He is yet cheerful, and apparently resigned for any fate that may await him.

I have just learned that the treaty with Germany was ratified by the national assembly at Versailles yesterday, almost unanimously.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 217.

General Fabrice to Mr. Washburne.

SOISY, May 10, 1871.

SIR: I am informed that four German nuns, Sisters Perpetua, Frederica, Maximilienne, and Ludovica, have been arrested, 35 Rue de Picpus, by order of the municipal authorities. My informant states that an

English nun, who has been arrested at the same time, was since set free in consequence of steps taken by the British embassy.

Perhaps your excellency may be able to learn at the house where the arrest is said to have taken place how far the above statement is authentic, and, eventually, what prisons the four nuns have been brought to. In case the municipal authorities should hesitate to set them free at once, at your excellency's request, I beg to be informed of the fact.

I am, sir, your excellency's obedient servant,

FABRICE.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 218.

General Fabrice to Mr. Washburne.

SOISY, May 15, 1871.

SIR: I gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant. I should feel deeply obliged if you would obtain the release of the four German nuns in St. Lazare without delay.

General Schlotheim's letter to you was based upon a mistake which has been, by this time, rectified. I beg that you will henceforth be so good as to direct either to me or to my diplomatic successor all answers to inquiries coming from other German authorities.

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's obedient servant,
FABRICE.

His Excellency E. B. WASHBURNE,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 219.

Mr. Washburne to General Fabrice.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
May 20, 1871.

GENERAL: I have the pleasure to inform you that after a good deal of trouble and delay the four German nuns you wrote about on the 15th instant have been released. At the same time I procured the release of seven others, also imprisoned at St. Lazare. They have all left the city furnished with my *laissez-passers*, and I trust they are all now out of harm's way.

There is some hesitation on the part of the Commune authorities about releasing a Mr. Bosch, a German, and two or three Alsatians, who belong to the gendarmes. I hope, however, they will be released very soon. If not, I may have to address you further on the subject.

General Schlotheim never addressed any letter to me; a member of the commune authorities brought to me a letter from the general, making inquiries in regard to the Germans in prison in Paris, and he wished me to answer it to say that all such Germans had been released.

The condition of things has grown worse and worse daily. As I am

writing my servant comes in to tell me that the national guard has come to invade my house, declaring they will not respect my diplomatic character. All the houses in the neighborhood have been pillaged.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

General FABRICE, *Soisy.*

No. 220.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 445.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, May 22, 1871. (Received June 7.)

SIR: The day of the 22d of May will become an important era in the history of Paris and of France. It was nine weeks on Saturday last since the insurrection broke out, and those weeks have run wearily on in the expectation that every week would be the last. I returned to my lodgings last night at about eleven o'clock, and had heard nothing and could see nothing that showed any change in the situation. But it now appears that at half past three o'clock yesterday afternoon the first division of the army of the reserve, commanded by General Vergé, entered the gate of St. Cloud, which is on what is called the "route of Versailles." A breach had been made at that point, but I am informed that it was not the expectation of the regular troops that they could enter at that time; but they pressed forward, and finding but little opposition, they were soon within the walls. The national guard retired very slowly, and such was the state of things existing, and so loose was the military organization of the Commune, that it was not known until into the night that the Versailles troops had passed the enceinte. The Commune was reposing in fancied security, and it was not until after midnight that they were advised as to the full extent of what had happened. Then was there "hurrying to and fro," the tocsin was sounded all over the city, the *générale* was beaten, orderlies dashed furiously in every direction, but all to no purpose. The national guard becoming demoralized, began to retreat hastily before the advancing forces. The entrance into the city having been made at the Porte de St. Cloud, the consequence was that the Commune troops that had been guarding the enceinte, and all the gates from that of St. Cloud clear round to the Porte des Terues, found themselves taken in the reverse, and by four o'clock this morning they had abandoned all their positions and fled to the interior of the city. The gates of Auteuil, Passy, and La Muette, being then left undefended, the troops of the line began pouring in through all of them. It was not until six o'clock this morning that I heard of what had taken place. My servant came to tell me that the troops were in, and that the *tricolored* flag floated on the top of the Arc de Triomphe. I hurried into the street and saw for myself the flag flying from the scaffolding supporting the machinery which had enabled the insurgents to draw up and plant upon the top of the arch five pieces of cannon. By this time, the head of the column advancing into the city and passing along the right bank of the Seine, by the Cours la Reine, was vigorously attacking the Place de la Concorde. At the same time another column crossing the avenue of the Champs Elysées, near the Arch, was marching in by the avenue de Friedland and down the rue Faubourg St. Honoré. At about nine o'clock the insurgent batteries at Montmartre began shelling the Place

d'Etoile, and soon many shells fell in the immediate neighborhood of the legation, but fortunately we received no damage. The fighting has continued all day about the Place de la Concorde, and it does not seem that the Versailles troops have gained much ground. At three o'clock this afternoon, accompanied by a friend, I took a ride along all those portions of the ramparts which have been bombarded by Mont Valerien, the great battery at Montretout, and the several breaching batteries. We passed around from the Porte de Dauphine, which is so near my residence, to the Porte of St. Cloud. I was at my house for the first time for two weeks, and found it but very little injured. Two pieces of shell had entered, and besides the breaking of considerable glass, there was no material damage. Some houses in the vicinity received many shells, and several of them have been pillaged. My servants who lived in the cellar were enabled to keep out the brigand national guards, although they made one or two serious demonstrations.

In going from the Porte de Dauphine, which had not been very severely bombarded, to the Porte de St. Cloud (more generally known as the Point-du-Jour), we passed the gates of La Muette, Passy, and Auteuil. Breaches had been made at all of them, and the destruction of property inside the enceinte has been immense. Nothing could live under the terrible fire of Mont Valerien and Montretout. An English military man told me he thought the battery of Montretout was the most powerful battery the world had ever seen. Never have I seen such a "wreck of matter"; guns dismounted, their carriages torn to pieces, barricades leveled, and buildings entirely demolished. We saw along the line of the ramparts many dead bodies of the national guard, several of them in a state of decomposition. The firing was so dreadful that it had been impossible to get them away. Returning from the Point-du-Jour into the city, we saw additional troops coming in, and the streets of Passy were crowded with them. It is estimated that from eighty to one hundred thousand troops of the line will be in the city before to-morrow morning. In all our part of the city they have been received with unbounded joy by the few people remaining. The citizens are congratulating each other that they are at last delivered from the oppression and terror of the last two months.

As I write, at ten o'clock at night, the fight seems to be going on as furious as ever at the Place de la Concorde. I shall continue this dispatch to-morrow, and shall hope to be able to send it over to London to-morrow night.

TUESDAY MORNING, May 23, 1871.—It seems difficult to get at anything reliable this morning. The fight continues, and always in the same neighborhood. The firing was terrific all last night. Shells from Montmartre were continually falling in our quarter, but it is extraordinary how little the damage has been. We can see from the top of the legation building that the *red flag*, that hated emblem of assassination and pillage, anarchy and disorder, still flies from the Tuilleries and from the ministry of the marine. The insurgents are evidently making a desperate resistance.

A gentleman has just come to the legation who proposes to leave at noon to-day for London. I therefore close this dispatch suddenly to send by him. I send also a telegraphic dispatch to be transmitted to you from London to-morrow.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 221.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 23, 1871. (Received June 7.)

SIR: On the other page I have the honor to send you a copy of a telegraphic dispatch, which I send to London to-night to be transmitted to you from there by Mr. Moran.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 23—noon.

FISH, Washington:

Desperate fighting for thirty-six hours. Still continues. Versailles gains ground slowly, but surely.

WASHBURN.

No. 222.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 448.]

PARIS, May 24, 1871. (Received June 7.)

SIR: My narration of the prodigious events which have been transpiring in Paris since Sunday last closed at noon of yesterday. As it was impossible to reach those parts of the city in which the fighting was going on, I only knew that the contest was raging with unparalleled fury in the central portion of it. At half past five or six o'clock of yesterday it was evident that an immense fire had broken out at the chancellerie of the legion of honor. Soon we saw the smoke arising in other parts of the city, showing but too plainly that the terrible threats of the Commune of a general conflagration had commenced to be carried out. I was at the headquarters of Marshal MacMahon, at Passy, at about nine o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of soliciting the sending of troops at the earliest moment for the release of the archbishop of Paris and other hostages in the prison of Mazas, and there I was told by an officer of the staff that the palace of the Tuilleries was on fire. On my return I could discover nothing, and I hoped that he had been mistaken. At one o'clock this morning I was awakened by a friend, who told me that the palace was all in flames. I hurried to a position from which I had a full and complete view of the fire. It was a starlight night, calm and beautiful. An insurgent battery, which had been for twenty-four hours shelling our part of the town, was still sending its bombs into the immediate neighbor hood of the legation every fifteen minutes. The roar of other cannon, the "crémitement" of the mitrailleuses and the sharp rattling of the chassepots fell upon the still of the night. The lurid flames rising from the burning palace lighted up half the heavens, and the whole scene was the most terrible I had ever witnessed. To the

fire of the Tuileries were added other conflagrations, the ministry of finance, the buildings of the rue Royal, and other fires which seemed just started. At one time it appeared to those of us who were watching the progress of the conflagration that the "Hospital des Invalides" was certainly on fire, but as the night wore on, daylight disclosed its gilded dome intact, and we discovered, to our great gratification, the fire was a short distance beyond in the same direction. At five o'clock this morning I sent a messenger to Versailles with a telegraphic dispatch for you in regard to what had taken place. Coming to the legation at nine o'clock, I heard that the Versailles troops had captured the strong positions at the Place de la Concorde and the Place Vendôme. I at once took my carriage and proceeded in that direction, passing down the boulevard Haussman to the Place St. Augustin, and the Caserne Pepinière. The insurgents had occupied the Caserne, and were driven out after a fight of about two hours, but it was at the foot of the boulevard Malesherbes, behind the Madeleine, and at the junction of several streets, that the insurgents had strong barricades; in fact, the key of their position was there, for if the Versailles troops could once pass that point they could easily take the great barricades in the rue Royale, the rue de Rivoli, and the Place Vendôme, in the reverse, and here the most desperate fighting took place for a period of nearly thirty-six hours. The neighborhood presented a most dreadful appearance this morning. The sidewalks of the splendid boulevard Malesherbes were filled with horses, baggage-wagons, and artillery-carriages. The houses had been more or less torn with shot and shell; the trees were all cut to pieces by the fire of the artillery and musketry, and their branches filled the street. A dead national guard was lying in an excavation for a cellar near by. In a small open space in the next street were the bodies of two soldiers of the line, who had been summarily shot as deserters. Proceeding farther, I reached the front of the church of the Madeleine, at the head of the rue Royale, and many of the buildings of that great thoroughfare were in flames, and others seemed literally to have been torn in pieces by the fire of the canon and musketry. Going farther up the boulevard Capucines, I found many of the buildings completely riddled, and upon the sidewalk was a dead national guard, and in a side street, a short distance from there, yet another dead body of the insurgent guard, people passing by and looking on them with apparent satisfaction. I went to the Place Vendôme, which had been evacuated during the night, and there for the first time saw the great column lying in the position in which it had fallen. The insurgents had not time to remove the bronze, which is now to be made use of in the speedy restoration of the column; the national assembly having decreed that it shall at once be restored. The Place de la Concorde was evacuated at the same time, the insurgents retreating in the direction of the Hotel de Ville and up the rue Lafayette. From the Place Vendôme I went to the rue de Rivoli, and proceeded cautiously toward the Tuileries, under the arcade. The Tuileries building was still burning, and the flames were bursting out in a part of the building where they had not before reached. It seemed that it would be impossible to save the Louvre, but I hear, as I write, that its preservation is secured, with all its treasures of art and its historic interest. During the entire afternoon the fires have been raging in many directions, and from the legation the sound of battle can be distinctly heard, but it is almost impossible to procure any reliable intelligence in regard to what is taking place. Most certainly something more definite can be ascertained in the morning.

THURSDAY, May 25.—When I closed my dispatch last night it was

fire and battle. It is the same this morning. There were frightful burnings all the night. The great Hotel de Ville, with all its traditions and souvenirs of history, exist no longer. The cour des comptes, the court of cassation, the prefecture of police, and the celebrated old prison of the Conciergerie, have shared the same fate. All has been the work of organized incendiarism, and the insurrectionists have done everything in their power to destroy Paris. If the entry of the troops had been delayed much longer, they would certainly have succeeded. The Commune had already made "perquisitions" for all of the petroleum in the city, and prepared petroleum-boxes and other means of firing the place. Bands of men, women, and children were organized to do this diabolical work. During the past two days immense numbers of these persons have been detected in distributing these boxes, and in every case the most summary vengeance has been inflicted upon them, without regard to age, sex, or condition. An employé of this legation counted this afternoon, on the avenue d'Antin, the dead bodies of eight children, the eldest not more than fourteen years of age, who had been seized while distributing their incendiary boxes, and shot on the spot. The state of feeling now existing in Paris is fearful beyond description. Passing events have filled the whole population opposed to the Commune with horror and rage. Arrests are made by the wholesale, of the innocent as well as the guilty. Last night four Americans—two gentlemen and two ladies—innocent as yourself of all complicity with the insurrection, were seized, while dining at a restaurant, and marched through the streets to one of the military posts. They sent word to me as soon as possible of their arrest, and I lost no time in going to their relief. I addressed myself to General Douai, who, upon my statement, immediately ordered their release. He expressed much regret at what had happened; but said that, in the existing excited state of feeling, it was impossible to prevent the arrest of innocent persons; that if, unfortunately, the arrest of any other Americans occurred, they would be immediately released upon my application, unless charged with crime for which they could be justly and legally held. I went down in the city this afternoon to see for myself what was the progress of events. Very little has been done toward putting matters into shape in the parts of the city already captured from the insurgents. The barricades everywhere remain. The fire was still raging in the rue Royale. The ministry of finance is completely consumed, with every record and paper; a loss that is utterly incalculable. The insurgents having been driven beyond the Place de la Bastille, I was able to go much farther than I went yesterday. I passed up the rue de Rivoli by the smoking ruins of the Tuileries, and had the inexpressible pleasure of seeing for myself that the Louvre, with all its untold and incalculable treasures, had been preserved. As I continued up the street, it seemed as if I were following in the track of an army. Reaching the Hotel de Ville, I found the neighborhood had all the appearance of an intrenched camp. Immense barricades were on every street leading into the square. But I am told that the insurgents abandoned it without a fight, finding themselves upon the point of being hemmed in. But before leaving, they applied the torch to that pile so interwoven with the history of Paris and of France, and the pride of all Frenchmen for centuries gone by. Now there was nothing but a mass of smoldering ruins. Two squares of magnificent buildings on the lower side of the Place de l'Hotel de Ville had also been destroyed. It was, indeed, a sad sight to behold. There was a regiment of the troops of the line on the quay, but scarcely another soul was to be seen in the entire neighborhood. Eight dead

bodies of the insurgents, partially consumed by fire, lay on the ground right in front of what was the main entrance into the building, and presenting the most horrible appearance, and sad sights everywhere. At the Place de l'Opera, I saw some five hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, who were being driven to Versailles. There was a squad of cavalry marching in the front and in the rear of them and foot soldiers marching on either side. I must say they were the most hideous and sinister-looking persons I ever saw in the whole course of my life. The sight of the prisoners excited the people to the highest pitch of indignation, and every opprobrious epithet was heaped upon them, and the escort alone prevented violence from being inflicted upon them on the spot. An officer told me this afternoon that the order was to shoot every man taken in arms against the government. I do not vouch for the truth of what he told me, but I do know that large numbers of the national guard and many others, caught in some criminal act, have been summarily executed. I have had great fears that the Prussian embassy might be burned. I learned to-day that suspicious persons were lurking about the premises, and I immediately addressed a note to Marshal MacMahon, advising him of my apprehensions, and asking him to detail a guard to protect the building. He answered me promptly that my request had been complied with. It is with no small degree of satisfaction that I am able to inform you that during all these horrible excesses in Paris for the past ten weeks no material damage has been done to the property of Americans, neither to the property of the Germans, with whose interests I still continue to be charged. Some few Americans have been arrested, but all were immediately released on my application. As I have written you before, the number of Germans and Alsations whose release from prison I have obtained is quite large. Among the last persons to be released were eleven German nuns, who had been seized at the convent of Picpus.

After being set at liberty, they came to the legation in a body to thank me for my efforts in their behalf. What I feared most was the robbery of our countrymen under the pretext of taxes. Many demands for the payment of taxes to the Commune had been made upon Americans, but, as I have before advised you, I told all who consulted me on the subject not to pay, but take the chances. However, the machinery for collecting these taxes had just been got ready, and the day of the 25th instant was the time it was to be put into operation. Armed with mandates from the committee of public safety, the national guards would have gone everywhere, and demanded the payment of a certain sum as a tax upon all apartments, houses, business establishments, &c. If the amount was not paid by the proprietor, or, in his absence, his agent or concierge, the most valuable things would have been seized and carried off. You will see, therefore, that the entry of the Versailles troops on the 22d was just in time to prevent this organized pillage. The only newspaper I have been able to get since the entry of the troops is "*La Vérité*," two copies of which I send you, the last number appearing Wednesday morning, although dated to-day. No paper has appeared to-day, as far as I can learn, except a little sheet called the *Constitution*, which is out this evening. There is not an omnibus running in the whole city, and scarcely a cab can be found. No persons, except such as have a diplomatic character, or their bearers of dispatches, are permitted to leave Paris. I have not time now to speak more fully of the scenes of carnage, fire, and blood of which Paris has been the theater for the last four days. They are without parallel in all its history. What took place on the days of July, 1830, when Charles the Tenth was overthrown; the days of February, 1848,

when Louis Philippe was chased from the throne, and the subsequent days of the insurrection in June of the same year, was mere child's play as compared with the events of the present week. The fighting has been long, desperate, and persistent. The insurgents have fought at every step with the fury of despair. Even as I write, at the hour of midnight, the contest is not yet ended, for I hear the booming of the cannon beyond the "Place de la Bastille." The government troops have displayed great bravery, and have never for a moment recoiled before the formidable and deadly barricades of the insurgents. They have shown the spirit of the old French army.

FRIDAY NOON, May 26, 1871.—The fighting is still going on this forenoon in the remote parts of the city, and new fires have broken out. I have no news of the fate of the archbishop of Paris, but the general belief is that all the hostages have been shot. The Prussian embassy is all safe and intact. My messenger for London is waiting, and I must close this dispatch.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

No. 223.

Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Fish.

[Extracts.]

No. 451.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Versailles, May 26, 1871. (Received June 14.)

SIR: I do not know whether Mr. Washburne, who is at Paris, will be able to send a messenger to-day to London as usual. Very strict orders have been given to permit no one to pass the gates. I think it well, therefore, to inform you, that when I last heard from the legation, on the evening of the 24th, that part of the city in which it is situated was perfectly tranquil and safe. The office had been struck by a shell, but no one had been hurt. According to the last reports from Paris, the insurrection is now confined to Belleville and to Fort d'Ivry. Everywhere else it has been crushed, and in the strongholds referred to it can hold out but a few hours. The vandalism of the insurgents in destroying the public buildings they could not hold has never been equalled in history. Happily the Louvre and Bibliothèque Nationale, the most valuable of them all, have been saved. The Tuilleries, the Hôtel de Ville, and others of inferior historic interest, have perished.

Petroleum is now the madness of the hour. Quiet housekeepers are stopping up the vault-openings in the pavement, on the ridiculous pretext that bands of women are roaming through the streets pouring petroleum into the vaults and then setting fire to it.

You will, no doubt, receive full information from Mr. Washburne of all that is passing in Paris as soon as the gates are open. It is expected that this will be in a day or two, and that early next week trains will be running to and from Paris as usual.

I am, &c.,

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

No. 224.

*Mr. Washburne to Marshal McMahon.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 25, 1871.

SIR: I would be glad if you could send some persons from your headquarters to look after the safety of the Prussian legation, No. 78 rue de Lille. I am advised at this moment that several suspicious-looking people have been seen about there, and I fear that it may be fired.

Very respectfully, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency Marshal MACMAHON,
Duke de Magenta.

No. 225.

*Mr. Washburne to General Douai.*LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 31, 1871.

SIR: The guardian of the Prussian embassy, Mr. McKean, will hand you this. He is fearful there may have been made in the embassy, during his absence, when driven away by the Commune, some deposits of petroleum and, perhaps, of arms. I would be pleased, therefore, if you should consider it in your line of duty to detail an officer, and, if need be, some men to go with him to visit the premises; and also that you will furnish a guard for the neighborhood of the embassy until complete quiet shall be restored.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE,
Minister of the United States,
charged with the Protection of the Germans, &c.

General DOUAI,
Commanding.

No. 226.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 455.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, May 31, 1871. (Received June 16.)

SIR: After an insurrection of seventy-one days, such as has never been known in the annals of civilization, Paris was finally delivered on Sunday, the 28th instant; the last positions held in the city by the commune having been taken, and their last troops captured at four o'clock on the afternoon of that day. Some of the insurrectionary troops had gone into the fort of Vincennes, but being surrounded by General Vinoy, they surrendered unconditionally the next day, Monday, the 29th. The reign of the Commune for ten weeks, pursuing its career of murder, assassination, pillage, robbery, blasphemy, and terror, finally

S. Ex. 24—14

expired in blood and flame. I find it impossible in the limits of a dispatch to give you a detailed history of the events of the last few days. If you look over the Paris journals I send you herewith, you will find fuller and far more satisfactory and interesting accounts of things than it would be possible for me to write to you. * * *

The incredible enormities of the Commune, their massacre of the archbishop of Paris and the other hostages, their countless murders of other persons who refused to join them in their fiendish work, their horrid and well-organized plans of incendiaryism intended to destroy almost the entire city, and which resulted in the destruction of so many of the great monuments of Paris, are crimes which will never die. * *

On Sunday evening last, at about eight o'clock, intelligence came to me that an American lady, Miss Herring, the keeper of a boarding-house on the boulevard Haussmann, had been arrested. At about five o'clock in the afternoon, when she was out of her house with two of her boarders, Mr. and Mrs. Crane, of New York, it was alleged that a shot had been fired from the building. On returning to the house they found it in the possession of soldiers and surrounded by a mob. On my arriving there the crowd had partially dispersed and a perquisition had been made in the house. Nothing, of course, was found; and upon my explanations in regard to Miss Herring, she was discharged from arrest.

At this juncture, Mr. Carter, an American merchant, and the father of Mrs. Crane, went into an adjoining street to bring home the nurse and the young child of his daughter. Descending to the door to return to my lodgings, I observed in the street, a short distance away, a very large crowd uttering vociferous yells and coming in the direction where I stood. To my utter amazement I saw that this mob had fallen upon Mr. Carter, and were following him with the cry "*A mort!*" "*A mort!*" Fortunately for him there were some officers near by, who sprang to his rescue and saved him from an immediate and terrible death. While all this was going on he was separated from the nurse and child of his daughter. When the daughter saw her father barely escaping with his life from the crowd without bringing her child, she naturally became almost frantic, and with the courage belonging only to a mother, she seized an officer by the arm and marched with him directly into the mob. In a few minutes, to our inexpressible joy, we saw her return with her child and her nurse. I mention these cases as cases out of hundreds, which have been happening every day and every hour of every day, as exhibiting the inhuman and devilish spirit which has prevailed here.

I telegraphed you of the sad fate of the archbishop so cruelly shot as a hostage on Wednesday evening, the 24th instant, at the prison of La Roquette. I had become intensely interested in that venerable and excellent man. I presume mine was the last friendly face he ever beheld except those of his companions who were shot with him. I saw him at half past four or five o'clock last Sunday afternoon. I had been to see him on Friday and found him so feeble that I thought I would go again on Sunday to see how he was. The Versailles troops had already entered the gate of Saint Cloud, on the other extreme of the city, but of course no one knew it where we were. The national guard delegate to the prison was drunk and everything was very disagreeable inside. They would not let me enter the cell of the archbishop, as I had been in the habit of doing, but insisted that he should come out to see me in the corridor. I regretted that, for I knew how weak and feeble he was. He soon came out looking very badly, but with the same pleasant countenance and the same warm thanks. I told him I was sorry I could

bring him no news, but that I had felt so anxious about his health that I had come to see how he was. He replied that he was a little better. We talked of the situation and of the probabilities of the speedy delivery of Paris. I told him I thought the end was near and that I hoped I should soon have the pleasure of seeing him at liberty. He replied that I was always so amiable and so kind, and that if it were the will of God that he should be spared it would be his greatest pleasure to tell the world of all that I had done for him. But I observed that he was sadder and more depressed than I had ever seen him, and I think he had a prescience of his coming fate.

FRIDAY, June 2, 1871:—There has been a marvelous change in Paris within the last two or three days. While ingress and egress have been very difficult, and egress almost impossible up to the present time, the whole city is alive with people. The smoldering fires have been extinguished and the tottering walls pulled down. Nearly all the barricades have disappeared. They were everywhere in incredible numbers and strength; in the boulevards, in the avenues, on the by-streets—everywhere.

I have been in all parts of the city since the close of the bloody conflict. Yesterday afternoon I made my last round, going to Belleville, Père la Chaise, La Villette, Place de la Bastille, &c. I visited the celebrated prison of La Roquette. It was to this prison that the archbishop of Paris was removed from the prison of Mazas and I was curious to ascertain in regard to his last hours. Everything relating to the fate of this illustrious man must excite the deepest interest. By the courtesy of the officer in charge and of one of the old guardians of the prison, I was shown into the cell where the archbishop had been confined. The cell was even smaller than the one at Mazas, but higher up, better lighted, and more cheerful. He was taken from this cell a little before eight o'clock on Wednesday evening, the 24th ultimo. The curse of the Madeleine, the Abbé Deguerry, the Senator Bonjeau, and three other distinguished hostages were taken from their cells in the same prison at the same time, into the court of the building, and all were placed against the wall, which incloses the somber edifice of La Roquette. The archbishop was placed at the head of the line, and the fiends who murdered him, with their knives had scratched a cross upon a stone in the wall at the very place where his head must have touched at the moment when the fatal shots were fired. He did not fall at the first volley, but stood erect, calm, and immovable. Before the other discharges came which launched him into eternity he crossed himself three times upon his forehead. The other victims fell together. The marks of the bullets, made upon the wall as they passed through their bodies, were distinctly visible. The archbishop's body was afterward mutilated, his abdomen being cut open. All the bodies were then put into a cart and removed to Père la Chaise, which is but a few squares off, where they were thrown into the common ditch, from which they were happily rescued before decomposition had entirely taken place. Returning from La Roquette, I came by the "Archevêché," where the body of the archbishop was lying in state. He was so changed that I should scarcely have known him. Thousands and thousands of the people of Paris were passing through the palace to look for the last time upon him who was so endeared to them by his benevolent acts, his kindly disposition, and his love of the poor and the lowly. In all of the six or seven interviews I had with the archbishop in the prison, except the last, I always found him cheerful, and sometimes even gay, and never uttering one word of complaint. No man could be with him

without being captivated by his cheerful and Christian spirit and enlightened conversation. The archbishop was learned, accomplished, and eloquent, and was a most liberal man in his religious and political sentiments. He met his fate with the firmness of a Christian martyr, and all generous hearts will join in a tribute of mourning.

The losses of the insurgents have been fearful. Their entire military force has been either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The losses of the government troops are not known. Those of Douai's corps (one of the four corps who entered the city) are said to amount to forty officers and six hundred men killed and wounded. The number of prisoners of the government, soldiers as well as people charged with complicity with the Commune, is estimated at forty or fifty thousand, but this may be exaggerated. Arrests continue to be effected in great numbers, and where the thing is to end no one knows.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

No. 227.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 469.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, June 21, 1871.

SIR: As a part of the history of the times, I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of a letter written by General Fabrice to the authorities of the Commune, in relation to the threatened invasion of my house by the insurrectionary national guards of Paris, and also copy of the reply of Paschal Grousset. This correspondence has been placed in my hands by Count Waldersee, the new chargé d'affaires of the German Empire at Paris. I send copies both in French and English. The history of the matter is this:

On Saturday, the 20th ultimo, about eleven o'clock in the morning, when I was writing a letter to General Fabrice on a matter of business, my female servant came rushing into the legation in a state of great terror and excitement, saying that the national guard had come to invade my house. She refused to open the doors, telling them that it was the residence of the American minister. They then became quite violent and said they would no longer respect my diplomatic character, and if they were not let in they would go at once and seek some more of their number and return and force an entrance. In the mean time the servant (having asked a neighboring concierge to take charge of the house, in her absence) started for the legation to advise me of what had happened. I immediately sent Antoine, the messenger of the legation, to the house with instructions to hold possession if possible until I could send word to the Commune authorities. At the same moment I sent a messenger to Paschal Grousset to demand protection, and he lost no time in sending it. It arrived before the soldiers had effected their entance, and my house was saved from pillage.

In concluding my letter to General Fabrice, I wrote as follows: "The condition of things here grows worse and worse daily. As I am writing my servant comes in to tell me that the national guard has come to invade my house, declaring they will not respect my diplomatic character. All the houses in the neighborhood have been pillaged." It seems that on the reception of my letter General Fabrice telegraphed

the Prince Bismarck, then at Frankfort, in regard to the matter, and the result was the correspondence inclosed. Grousset's letter to the general is dated on the 22d of May, the day of the commencement of the heavy fighting. I never received from him any such letter as he refers to.

I have felt under very great obligations to the German authorities for the very prompt and emphatic measures taken in this matter, and I have thought you might deem it proper to make some acknowledgment through Mr. Bancroft.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 1.—Translation.]

General Fabrice to Mr. Grousset.

SOISY, May 21, 1871.

The German Government was informed yesterday, May 20th, that certain national guards had invaded the house of the minister of the United States of America, declaring that they did not care for his diplomatic character.

This act, showing a total disregard of the rules of the laws of nations, raises an international question. The right to demand satisfaction for this outrage belongs equally to all governments; but for the German Government this right becomes a duty, inasmuch as the minister of the United States has, during both the sieges of Paris, had the kindness to charge himself with the protection of German interests in that city.

In consequence the undersigned calls upon the chiefs of power in Paris to deliver up immediately to the German military authorities the national guards who have been guilty of the violation of the residence of Mr. Washburne.

In case satisfaction should not be given within twenty-four hours by the surrender of the guilty into the hands of the advanced posts at St. Dennis, the German Government reserves the right to take further measures in the premises.

In the name of the Chancellor of Germany.

DE FABRICE.

[Inclosure 2.—Translation.]

Mr. Grousset to General Fabrice.

COMMUNE OF PARIS, FRENCH REPUBLIC, COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY,
Paris, May 22, 1871.

SIR: In answer to your letter of May 21, relative to the legation of the United States, the undersigned has the honor to make the following statements:

Notified on the 20th May, toward noon, of the presence at the legation of the United States of several national guards, ignorant of diplomatic rights and immunities, the undersigned immediately sent one of the employés of this delegation with a formal order to cause the sacred rights of a neutral residence to be respected, and to bring the guilty before a court-martial. The moment they received notice of this order they fled in all directions, without its being possible to recognize them.

The undersigned consequently finds himself unable to punish an act which he formally condemns. All the representatives of the foreign powers who have been in relation with him can prove this.

He has only been able to express to Mr. Washburne all his regrets and all his indignation in a letter addressed on the 20th of May to the legation of the United States.

He can only renew the expression of these regrets and of this indignation to the German minister whom Mr. Washburne temporarily represented.

The delegate of the Commune to foreign relations.

PASCHAL GROUSSET.

General DE FABRICE,

Minister of the German Empire at Headquarters, Soisy.

No. 228.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 467.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, June 15, 1871. (Received June 29.)

SIR: Lieutenant-Colonel Count Waldersee, the new chargé d'affaires for the German Empire near the French government, arrived in Paris yesterday, and to-morrow will relieve me of the duties which I have discharged for the past eleven months, as connected with the protection of German subjects in France. He brought with him a letter from the Prince Bismarck, a copy of which I inclose herewith. I shall have the honor, at a subsequent time, of addressing you another and further communication upon this subject. I will only say that I feel great satisfaction in being relieved from the duties I have performed in this connection. I hope now to be able to leave for Carlsbad by the last of the present month.

I have the honor, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure.]

Prince Bismarck to Mr. Washburne.

BERLIN, June 13, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that, in order to restore the regular diplomatic intercourse between the German Empire and French Republic, I have appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Count Waldersee, the bearer of the present letter, chargé d'affaires at Paris, preparatory to the nomination of a representative of His Majesty the Emperor.

His Majesty has commanded me to convey to your excellency the grateful acknowledgment for the zeal and kindness you have devoted to the interests of the German residents under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, and with corresponding sacrifice of time and personal comfort. I beg to add the reiterated expression of the sense of obligation I shall ever preserve for the uniform promptness and courtesy I have experienced from you in a business connection of nearly a twelvemonths' duration.

With sentiments of the highest consideration, I have the honor to be your excellency's obedient servant,

BISMARCK.

No. 229.

Mr. Washburne to Prince Bismarck.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris, June 19, 1871.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your letter of the 13th instant by the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Count Waldersee. On the 17th instant I turned over to him the archives of the Prussian legation, which had been committed to my charge in the month of July, 1870. On the same day I surrendered up my charge connected with the protection of your countrymen and their interests for the period of eleven months. I shall send to Mr. Von Thile, with whom I have already corresponded on the subject, a full account of the moneys received and disbursed by me during the time I have been charged with your interests.

I beg leave to thank you for conveying to me the acknowledgements of His Majesty in respect to the services I have been able to render to your government during the time I have had the honor to act in its behalf. I beg your excellency to believe that the services I have been able to render have been given with a hearty good-will, and I am gratified to know that they have been satisfactory to the royal government. I shall ever cherish the pleasantest recollections of our official relation during the most extraordinary period of modern times.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

His Excellency PRINCE DE BISMARCK,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 230.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. Fish.

No. 473.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Paris June 29, 1871. (Received July 13.)

SIR: As connected with the history of the insurrection and of the tragic fate of the archbishop of Paris, I have the honor to send you herewith, to go into the archives of the department, a copy of all the correspondence and papers in regard to the imprisonment of the archbishop, and the measures taken to obtain his release.

I have, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

[Inclosure 1.]

Archbishop Chigi to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, MONTREUIL, 2 Rue de la Vieille Eglise, April 18, 1871.

SIR AND MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Permit me to request you confidentially to receive kindly the four ecclesiastical canons of the metropolitan church of Paris, who come to beg your protection in favor of their archbishop, imprisoned by the insurgents at Paris. Permit me to join my prayers to those of these good canons, and to assure you of my great gratitude for all that you think you can do to endeavor, at least, to obtain that the life of Monseigneur Darboy shall run no danger.

Receive, &c., &c.

FLAVIUS CHIGI,
Archbishop of Myre, Apostolic Nuncio.

SIR: The sad events which are passing in Paris have not failed to attract the attention of your excellency. Among other deplorable excesses to which civil war has given birth in this unhappy city, the arrest of monseigneur the archbishop, and of the principal members of his clergy, has been particularly remarked by the different representatives of the powers friendly to France. Relying upon this friendship and on the good relations which exist between the governments of the United States of America and our country, we, canons and members of the metropolitan chapter of the church of Paris, who have been able to meet together, take the liberty to beg your excellency to have the goodness to interpose your good offices, in such manner as you shall judge best, to obtain the deliverance of our archbishop as soon as possible; that the cause of humanity and of civilization may cease to suffer in his person, doubly respectable by his dignity and his merits—one of the greatest injuries he has ever received.

No political object being connected with this step, and placing ourselves solely on the ground of the laws of nations, and of the sympathy which so undeserved a treatment cannot fail to inspire, we dare to hope that your excellency will receive our movement favorably, and that you will do in this connection all that we could desire.

In this hope and this confidence, we have the honor to be, &c., &c., &c.,

E. J. LAGARDE,

Vicar-General of Paris, Archdeacon.

EN. BONNET,

Canon.

L. ALLAND,

Canon and Secretary.

LOUVRER,

Canon Penitentiary of the Diocese of Paris.

REPUBLIC OF FRANCE,
Paris, April 23, 1871.

Prefecture of the Police.—Cabinet of the Secretary-General.

(Seen the 23d April; 25th April; 9th May, and 10th May, 1871.)

We, member of the commune, civil delegate to the exprefecture of police, authorize the citizen Washburne, minister of the United States, and his secretary, to communicate freely with the citizen Darboy, archbishop of Paris.

RAOUL RIGAULT. [SEAL.]

Examined May 9, 1871.

The chief of the division.

EDWARD ERNAUD. [SEAL.]

[Inclosure 2.]

Mr. Washburne to Archbishop Chigi.

PARIS, April 24, 1871.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I came into Paris Saturday night, and that very evening I arranged to meet one of the head men of the Commune yesterday morning, at 9 o'clock. I cannot do better than to send you an account of what was done, which I have written to my government. I send you, therefore, inclosed herewith, and *confidentially*, a copy of a dispatch I sent to Washington last night. After reading my dispatch I will thank you to inclose it to me, No. 7 rue de Mademoiselle, Versailles. I inclose herewith also a letter from the archbishop to the Abbé Lagarde. I shall hope to see you further in regard to the archbishop when I shall next be in Versailles.

Very truly, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 3.]

Archbishop Darboy to Mr. Washburne.

I beg the minister of the United States to accept my thanks for the kind visit he has had the goodness to make me in my prison, and to send the inclosed letter to its destination by his secretary, who is going to Versailles.

The address of the person to whom it is written will be found through his excellency the apostolic nuncio, or the bishop of Versailles. If the person to whom the letter is addressed has already started for Paris, the secretary of the minister can destroy it, or bring it back on his return to Paris.

G. DARBOY,

Archbishop of Paris, from the prison of Mazas, April 23, 1871.

[Inclosure 4.]

The Papal Nuncio to Mr. Washburne.

Confidential.]

VERSAILLES, MONTREUIL, April 26, 1871.

SIR AND DEAR COLLEAGUE: Truly I do not know how to thank you for all that you have had the kindness to do to aid the worthy archbishop of Paris. You have done more than I could have hoped, notwithstanding the confidence with which I was

nspired, knowing the sentiments of humanity and of pity of your heart, and the generous nation you represent so worthily in France; and I am sure that the steps you will take with the men into whose hands lies the fate of the Archbishop, will not fail to produce the most favorable result which it is possible to hope for under present circumstances.

I have read with great interest, and with sentiments of profound gratitude toward yourself, sir, the dispatches you have had the kindness to communicate to me in confidence and with reservation, and I hasten to send them back herewith, with all my thanks to the legation of the United States at Versailles, according to the direction in your honored letter of yesterday.

Colonel Hoffman has informed me that you will soon be at Versailles, and I have begged him to inform me of your arrival, that I may, without delay, call to express to you all my gratitude and my respect.

In the mean time please accept, for the present, the renewed assurance of my sentiments of gratitude, and of the distinguished and affectionate consideration with which I am, &c.,

FLAVIUS CHIGI,
Archbishop of Myre, Apostolic Nuncio.

[Inclosure 5.]

Archbishop Darboy to Mr. Washburne.

APRIL 28, 1871.

I beg his excellency the minister of the United States to receive the homage of my respect, and to have the goodness to send the inclosed letter to Versailles.

The address of Mr. Lagarde, in case the representative of his excellency does not know it, can be found either at the residence of the nuncio or at the episcopal palace at Versailles.

G. DARBOY,
Archbishop of Paris.

[Inclosure 6.]

Archbishop Darboy to Mr. Washburne.

AT MAZAS, April 28.

I beg his excellency the minister of the United States to receive the homage of my respect, and to have the goodness to permit me to have recourse to his kindness to send the inclosed letter to Versailles.

I shall be very grateful to him for it.

G. DARBOY,
Archbishop of Paris.

The address of Mr. Lagarde is, without doubt, known to the representative of Mr. Washburne at Versailles.

In any case it can be had from the Nuncio, or from the bishop of Versailles.

[Inclosure 7.]

Memorandum of the Archbishop of Paris.

"It is not known precisely what answer Mr. Thiers has given to the proposition made to him for the release of Blanqui, with a view to obtain in exchange the release of the archbishop of Paris, and of four or five persons held like him. The vicar-general Lagarde, who went to Versailles to attend to this matter, has sent here only vague and incomplete reports on the results of this step, but as he does not return, it is believed that all hope of success is not lost.

"In default of precise information, it is conjectured that the government fears that it will appear to be treating with the Commune, if it accepts the proposed exchange, and in addition, possibly regards the liberation of Blanqui as dangerous, in the midst of the present excitement. Now, parties who are interesting themselves either for Mr. Blanqui, or for the archbishop, desire earnestly that the following considerations should be submitted to Mr. Thiers, who will appreciate them in his wisdom and humanity, and

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it is believed they would have great weight if presented to Mr. Thiers by his excellency the minister of the United States.

"The question is not between the Commune and the government, but between the government and the parties above mentioned. The latter have arranged that the archbishop, and four or five other prisoners, to be designated by Mr. Thiers, shall be sent to Versailles, if they can have the assurance that Mr. Blanqui will receive his liberty. This assurance is to be guaranteed verbally by the minister of the United States, he being verbally authorized by Mr. Thiers. As to the liberation of Mr. Blanqui, instead of ordering it officially, would it not be possible to accomplish it by allowing him the facility to escape, with the understanding, of course, that he will not be retaken unless it be for the commission of some new offense? In this manner the government would have nothing whatever to do with the Commune, some one, apart from the Commune, would receive the assurance given by Mr. Washburne, and all would be arranged.

"There could be no serious danger in liberating Mr. Blanqui, even in the present condition of things.

"The resistance of Paris is a military resistance entirely, and the presence of Mr. Blanqui could add nothing to it.

"The political and social ideas which are represented by the Commune are not in themselves, nor in their application, those of Mr. Blanqui, and if he should associate himself with the Commune it would not be a bond of union between the members which compose it, but rather a new element of discord.

"At all events it does not appear that a settlement of the present conflict will be brought about through the political or social theories or policy of the Commune, but only by the force of arms. It could therefore be no embarrassment if Mr. Blanqui were set at liberty, even though he should return to Paris. Whether he would do so or not is unknown.

"If it were known precisely for what reasons Mr. Thiers hesitates to act favorably upon the proposition of exchange which has been submitted to him, it might be possible to attenuate their force, and bring him perhaps to a better conclusion. Besides, he should not remain in ignorance that the life of the archbishop is seriously menaced. In saving him, Mr. Thiers, we believe, would give great satisfaction to the French clergy, and particularly to the episcopate."

Memo.—Written in the prison of Mazas, May 10, 1871.

E. B. W.

[Inclosure 8.]

The Papal Nuncio to Mr. Washburne.

VERSAILLES, MONTREUIL, May 12, 1871.

SIR AND DEAR COLLEAGUE: Mr. McKean handed to me this morning the letter you did me the honor to address to me yesterday, as well as the copy of the memorandum written by the archbishop of Paris, and I also received only a few days ago, through the post-office, and much behind time, the other letter which you also had the kindness to write me on the 29th of April, to which were joined two letters of M. Darboy for the Abbé Lagarde, to whom I handed them immediately. This morning I sent confidentially to Mr. Thiers the memoir of the archbishop, and I have begged of him a confidential reply, that I may send it to you to be delivered to M. Darboy, through your kindness: If I should receive the reply, as has been promised me, by three o'clock, I shall hasten to transmit it to you, begging you to make it known to monseigneur the archbishop. In the mean time, it is well that you should know how matters stand.

Mr. Thiers, having received some time ago the letter brought by Abbé Lagarde, submitted, first to the council of the ministers, and then to the commission of the fifteen deputies whom he has associated with himself, the question of the exchange of Blanqui on one side and the archbishop and four or five ecclesiastics on the other, and all unanimously refused their consent to such an arrangement. After this, Mr. Thiers declared that, notwithstanding the desire he felt to see the archbishop at liberty, as well as the Abbé Degnerry, who was his personal friend, he could not take upon himself to carry out the exchange. He added that Mr. Blanqui was to be submitted to a new trial, and if he was condemned to death, he, as President, would have the power to spare his life; but as for setting him free, above all before he was tried, he could not do it; this would be beyond his power as chief of the executive power. This reply, addressed to M. Darboy more than two weeks ago, was drawn up, and Mr. Lagarde was requested to carry it to the archbishop in a sealed envelope as it was. But Mr. Lagarde refused, and still refuses, giving as the motive of his refusal that he cannot carry a reply in a sealed letter to a letter which he brought unsealed. Thus the letter of Mr. Thiers remains still at the ministry "des cultes," and they are unwilling to send it except by Mr. Lagarde, who, on his side, does not wish to take charge of it.

Mr. Thiers desires also to assure me that he has the conviction that neither the life

of the archbishop of Paris, nor these of the other ecclesiastics who are at this moment in prison, are in danger.

For my part I do not share, I confess, the confidence of the President on this subject.

FOUR O'CLOCK.—I have just returned from the palace of the prefecture. Mr. Thiers read attentively the copy of the memoir of which I have spoken above, and he repeated, after mature reflection, the same observations which he made in his reply to the letter of M. Darboy. He decided not to set Blanqui at liberty, but apparently to spare his life if he should be condemned to death. This is all his powers permit him to do. Besides, it would never be possible for him to sanction an iniquity consisting in seizing hostages among distinguished people in order to set free scamps and culprits by lending himself to such plans of exchange, more or less covered up. He repeated the assurance that the life of the archbishop ran no danger whatever, and he ended by saying that in about two days the troops would be in Paris, and all danger would disappear.

This, my dear colleague, is the answer which I can give you, and regret with you that it is not more in accordance with the desire of the archbishop and with your charitable and generous design. In terminating, permit me to communicate to you, in accordance with the orders his eminence Cardinal Antonelli has transmitted to me, the sentiments of gratitude of the Holy Father the Pope, and of the cardinal, for all that you have done and all that you may do in favor of the archbishop, so unjustly tortured.

Accept, sir, also, with my sincere and affectionate thanks, the renewed assurance, &c., &c., &c.

FLAVIUS CHIGI,
Archbishop of Myre, Apostolic Nuncio.

[Inclosure 9.]

COMMUNE OF PARIS,
Paris, May 18, 1871.

Cabinet of the Procureur of the Commune.

The director of the Mazas will permit Citizens Washburne and McKean to communicate with the prisoner Darboy.

Permanent.

RAOUL RIGAULT,
Procureur of the Commune.

Examined the 21st May, 1871.

[Inclosure 10.]

Mr. Washburne to Archbishop Chigi.

PARIS, May 11, 1871.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Mr. McKean, my private secretary, will call on you in relation to the archbishop. He will hand you a copy of a memorandum made by him on the subject of an exchange for Blanqui. I need not assure you that I shall be very glad to do anything that is proper in this matter—officially, of course—to facilitate any arrangement that might be made. Mr. McKean visited the archbishop with me yesterday, and can explain to you fully in regard to him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 11.]

Mr. Washburne to Mr. W. B. Norcott.

PARIS, May 11, 1871.

DEAR SIR: I sent to-day a copy of the memorandum of the archbishop of Paris, in regard to his being exchanged for Blanqui, to Monseigneur Chigi, and told him that I would gladly do anything which would be proper, but of course officially. I think the archbishop put the question very fairly, and I hope his memorandum will be brought to the attention of Mr. Thiers. I can well understand the reasons the Versailles government might oppose to the proposition for an exchange, but it seems to me they might be got over in this case, where the life of such a man as the archbishop is in danger. The French Government could lose nothing in placing Blanqui in liberty, and by so doing would probably save the life of the archbishop. I consider his life in

the most imminent danger, and for that reason, and with a desire to assuage his sufferings in prison, I have been willing to lend all my good offices in the matter. In your visit to Versailles I hope you will be able to secure the consent of Mr. Thiers to the exchange. I believe the Commune have agreed to release several prisoners, including M. Beaujon, besides the archbishop, in case Blanqui could be put in liberty. That might be an additional consideration with Mr. Thiers.

I am, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

[Inclosure 12.]

Mr. Plou to Mr. Washburne.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES in France:

SIR: I know what interest your excellency has shown in favor of Monseigneur Darboy, archbishop of Paris, and I know what gratitude the friends of the Catholic Church will feel toward you for it. Permit me, sir, in invoking this interest, to beg your excellency to take a step which will be, without doubt, of service to Monseigneur Darboy. The celebrities of the bar of Paris having left the capital, monseigneur has had the goodness to choose me as his counsel. I consequently asked of the Citizen Raoul Rigaut, procureur of the commune, the permission required to visit him at the prison of Mazas. I have had two consultations with monseigneur. These interviews enabled me to take certain steps having a character of public interest, and I had hoped that they might be renewed from time to time, when the Commune of Paris suppressed all the permissions which had been accorded to visit the priest-prisoners, and authorized the Citizen Ferré, one of its members, to grant henceforth such authorizations as he should judge to be proper. Notwithstanding my earnest request to him, notwithstanding my character of counsel, which should have prevented a refusal—for a prisoner cannot be deprived, without barbarity, of advice of counsel—I have been able to obtain nothing from Mr. Ferré, who exhibits an unyielding severity. I have, therefore, the honor, appealing to my sincere devotion to monseigneur the archbishop (and without this being suggested to me by any one), to beg your excellency to consent to employ your great influence to obtain from Citizen Ferré the permission which he refuses me without giving any reason. I ask pardou of your excellency for importuning you in this manner, and I hope that you will excuse my indiscretion for the sake of the motive which dictates it.

I am, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

PLOU.

[Address:]

ETIENNE PLOU, Jurisconsulte, Rue Ventadour, No. 6.
PARIS, May 11, 1871.

No. 231.

Mr. Hoffman to Mr. Fish.

No. 503.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, August 18, 1871. (Received August 31.)

SIR: I have the honor to forward to you herewith a copy of a letter received from Mr. de Rémusat, conveying the thanks of the agricultural society of Cher for aid sent from the United States to the farmers of that department.

The society expresses its thanks to the people of the United States, to the New York committee, and to Mr. Henry T. Parker, of Boston, who was charged with the distribution of the funds.

I inclose translations of the letter of Mr. de Rémusat, and of the proceedings of the society.

I am, &c.,

WICKHAM HOFFMAN.

[Inclosure.—Translation.]

Mr. de Rémusat to Mr. Hoffman.

VERSAILLES, August 16, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that at its session of July 15 last the society of agriculture of Cher, which had been charged with the distribution of seed-corn to the farmers of that department, victims of war, voted its thanks to the United States of America for the succor which they had so generously sent to our rural population. You will find herewith an extract of the proceedings of the session of July 15, setting forth this vote.

I shall be obliged to you, sir, if you will convey to your government the sentiment of gratitude expressed by the society of agriculture of Cher.

I have, &c.,

RÉMUSAT.

[Translation.]

BOURGES, August 2, 1871.

Extract from the proceedings of the society of agriculture of Cher, of July 15, 1871: The society of agriculture of Cher having heard the report of Mr. Amillon, one of the members, deeply touched by the proofs of the sympathy of the foreign nations who have come to the aid of our rural population, victims of the war, votes its thanks to the people of the United States of America, to the American committee of New York, to Mr. Henry T. Parker, who came to bring us the proofs of their sympathy.

A true extract.

AMILLON.

Seen and warmly approved by the vice-president of the society of agriculture, acting president.

AD. N. TAP, President.

No. 232.

Mr. Washburne to Mr. von Thile.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Paris, June 29, 1871.

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith a statement of the amount of money I have received from the German Government, as charged with the protection of its citizens in France, and the account of expenditure in gross. As soon as copies can be made, I shall forward to you a statement in detail. It has been a matter of some labor to make out this detailed account, as the distribution was to a very large number of persons, and as the expenditures were from one franc upward. You will perceive by the account transmitted herewith that a balance of 32,402.60 francs remains in my hands, for which I inclose a check on Messrs. Rothschild & Co., Paris.

I should have sent a detailed account with this general statement, but copies of it cannot be made previous to my leaving Paris, on Saturday next, to visit the waters at Carlsbad.

As I desired to close my account before I left, I send you the brief statement without waiting for the more detailed one, which will be transmitted to you by my secretary, Mr. Hoffman, who will act as chargé d'affaires during my absence.

I take the present opportunity, &c.,

E. B. WASHBURN.

His Excellency Mr. DE THILE.

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Statement of account by Mr. Washburne to the North German Confederation.

	Francs.
1. List of cases of assistance in traveling from August 15 to September 16, 1870.....	25, 196 00
2. Account of the Northern Railway for taking back to their country, August and September, 1870, 8,798 full fares, Paris to Herbesthal, at 10.85-11.85 francs 95, 458 30	
462 half-fares, at 5.45 2, 517 90	<u>97, 976 20</u>
3. General list of succors distributed during the siege of Paris, from Sep- tember, 1870, to June 16, 1871.....	105, 057 50
4. List of cases of succor and assistance in traveling back to their country, from March 11 to June 16, 1871.....	17, 346 00
5. Cab-hire August 10 to June 16.....	1, 300 00
7. Sundry expenses and succors, August 9 to June 25, 1871.....	5, 721 00
 Total of expenses.....	252, 597 40
Remaining on deposit at Rothschilds'.....	<u>32, 402 60</u>
 Total	 <u>285, 000 00</u>

Account-current opened at Messieurs Rothschild Brothers.

Paid on order in draft.....	257, 341 24
Balance to credit.....	<u>27, 658 76</u>
 Total	 <u>285, 000 00</u>

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